

COLUMBIA JOURNALISM REVIEW

*The President's brand
of press-agentry*

*Space and television:
a perfect match*

*The numbers game
in Santo Domingo*

*Murrow's indictment
of broadcasting*

*PM: an assessment
after twenty-five years*

SUMMER, 1965

*... to assess the performance of journalism in all its forms,
to call attention to its shortcomings and strengths, and to
help define—or redefine—standards of honest, responsible
service ...*

*... to help stimulate continuing improvement in the pro-
fession and to speak out for what is right, fair, and decent.*

COLUMBIA JOURNALISM REVIEW

Summer, 1965

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ARTICLES

- 4 Essence, not angle. Wallace Carroll
- 7 Reflections of an ex-striker. Albert L. Hammond
- 10 Press agent — but still President. Ben H. Bagdikian
- 21 A trade magazine that hit hard. Theodore Peterson
- 33 PM: an anniversary assessment. Lewis Donohew

SURVEY

- 15 Second quarter, 1965: Floods — Santo Domingo — Gemini
- 23 Local radio: all-news sound
- 25 Arrivals and departures

SECOND READING

- 27 Murrow's indictment of broadcasting

DEPARTMENTS

- 2 Passing comment: views of the editors
- 14 Editorial notebook
- 37 Books. Edited by Louis M. Starr
- 41 Report on reports
- 43 Letters
- 45 Unfinished business
- 48 the lower case

Things to come

A British television executive, Sir Gerald Barry, has projected his vision of a paperless world in a new anthology called *The World in 1984*, as follows:

"... in the long-term, the 'newspaper' of the future will be electronic—if, indeed, it can be called a newspaper at all. People will probably get their news either on a television screen or on a wall panel or on a private teleprinter..."

Perhaps that is the way it looks when Sir Gerald peers deep into his picture tube, but the *Review's* captive Nostradamus sees things differently. His exclusive forecast: The newspaper business will still be alive in 1984, and, judging from recent developments in New York, will look like this:

"Manhattan will have three daily newspapers, the rest having merged or closed. The latest—the *Herald Tribune*—was merged into the *Staten Island Advance*.

"One newspaper, the *Times*, will weigh thirty pounds on Sundays and will comprise fifty sections.

Another, the *News*, will score a technological breakthrough when it begins to carry divorce-court stories written entirely by computer.

"The third, an afternoon daily called the *Journal-American-Post-World-Telegram & Sun*, will fail to reach a new contract agreement with graying old Bertram Powers of the printers' union, and will be sold to a community antenna television company, which will use the plant to print program guides.

"*Editor & Publisher* will run an editorial on the sale pointing out the excellent health of the suburban press."

That's the way the *Review's* soothsayer sees it, at least. The editors hope he is wrong, but their hunch is that only a high order of wisdom, tenacity, and patience will prove him so.

Fashions in newspapers

The *Review* has fallen heir to 700 American daily newspapers of March 18, 1965—the entries in the annual N. W. Ayer awards for newspaper typography. The editors of the *Review* have been inspecting this unusually large slice of the American press and, at

the risk of defying those who say that one can never generalize about the American newspaper, offer the following generalizations:

1. The American newspaper in 1965 is extraordinarily serious and sober—even, sometimes, dull. Few dailies are making carnivals of their front pages.

2. Such innovations as the six-column page and the use of white space instead of black rules to separate columns are no longer unusual, but are still distinctly in the minority.

3. Remarkably few newspapers have chosen to replace stodgy nameplates or logotypes.

4. Booster material for the paper itself or for local business groups occupies a surprising (to the *Review*) amount of page-one space.

5. Comparison reveals that many papers are running editorials from outside sources without letting readers know that the opinion is not local.

Whose Voice?

Given the imperfect understanding of professional journalism in parts of Washington, it is no surprise that the Voice of America has been under pressure to modify its policy that its news broadcasts must be "accurate, objective and comprehensive." (The quoted words are from a directive issued by President Eisenhower.) This pressure is not the same thing as the periodic urging from the advertising industry that the Voice go on a hard-sell basis. Rather, the tendency seems to be to retain the forms of news and to put into them an administration point of view.

In an editorial on June 11, *The New York Times* pointed out two abuses affecting news reports beamed overseas: first, slanting—through common devices of omission or commission—of news reports dealing with foreign policy; second, the omission of unpalatable comment from the broadcast summaries of editorial opinion.

The extent to which these flaws exist has not been established. It might well be the subject of an impartial study.

In the meantime, three principles seem clear: First, the news broadcasts of the Voice should be as honest, straightforward, and balanced as the judgment of

professionals can make them. Second, it is entirely proper for the Voice, as an official organ, to quote extensively the foreign-policy pronouncements of the President, the Secretary of State, and other officials. Third, in broadcasting summaries of American editorial opinion, the Voice has an obligation to reflect the full range of such opinion, including a representative portion of the unpalatable. These seem the basic dictates of credibility, as well as honesty.

Darts and laurels

¶ The Columbia Broadcasting System broke the boredom barrier when it broadcast, on May 24, "The National Drivers' Test," which invited viewers to take a written test on their driving judgment. Instead of the abysmally low rating usually earned in the *CBS Reports* time, the test gained (according to the American Research Bureau) more than half the audience. Moreover, CBS received more than a million completed test forms. Fred Friendly, president of CBS News, put it: "That's what television is all about — involving people in the world of reality." For once, it was fact, not wish.

¶ In its television documentary, "Strike! Men Against Computers," the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation captured the bitterness and complexity of the year-old printers' strike against Toronto's newspapers. (It began in July, 1964, when the city's three dailies began to use computers in typesetting; they continued to publish without union printers.) There has been no comparable network effort in the United States, despite numerous opportunities.

¶ Energy: Since 1960, KRON-TV, San Francisco had been producing at least thirty-nine new locally oriented documentaries a year. Now the station has decided to add at least four hour-or-longer specials a year. The starters: a ninety-minute program on the California penal system and a sixty-minute study of homosexuality.

¶ To be missed: The season that was brought an end to NBC's *That Was the Week That Was*. The season that is to come will not include intentional satire.

¶ The National Broadcasting Company raised serious and important questions on the nature of modern government in its May 4 documentary, "The Science of Spying," an examination of the Central Intelli-

gence Agency. But just before the program was broadcast, it lost its sponsor, the B. F. Goodrich Company, which seemed earlier to have thought that it was going to get something like James Bond.

¶ Every newspaperman's sympathy must go to Stanley Fink, who was editor of the Atlantic City Press until he was handed his letter of resignation by his publisher on May 31. The apparent reason: "negative news" about the resort city — specifically, a six-part series on local poverty.

¶ National Educational Television producers, taken to task in a *Nation* article earlier this year for a lack of courage, showed fortitude aplenty in making a documentary on South Africa under the noses of South African officials and smuggling it out of the country. (It was shown in June on NET stations.)

¶ Just as courageous as the under-cover film makers are the English-language newspapermen of South Africa, who have maintained alone in that country a press independent of the majority party. Men like Laurence Gandar, editor of the *Rand Daily Mail*, and Anthony Delius, legislative correspondent of the *Cape Times* (to name but two who have recently crossed the government) have had to cope for more than a decade with intimidation and harassment. They deserve the moral support of American journalism.

¶ *Southern School News*, a monthly publication of the Southern Education Reporting Service (supported by the Ford Foundation), passed out of existence in June after a decade of impartial recording of the progress of school desegregation. Once it cast light on an ill-reported subject; now, its directors conclude, it is no longer needed. It will be succeeded by a magazine of more limited scope, *Southern Education Report*. Obviously, it did its job well.

¶ Follow-up: It was noted in this space in the spring issue that C. Sumner Stone had become a leading television commentator in Chicago. Before the *Review* was distributed, however, Mr. Stone had accepted a new position as an aide to Representative Adam Clayton Powell. Very unstable business.

¶ Although a number of broadcasters have been exploring questions of automobile safety in depth, television and radio reverted to stereotype on the Fourth of July week end this year, sounding the same old alarms about the mounting accident toll and lecturing drivers on their supposed inadequacies.

Essence, not angle

An editor cites superficial Supreme Court coverage as an example of outdated journalism. Newspapers, he says, now must match their technological revolution with alertness to the substance of the news

By WALLACE CARROLL

The technological revolution in newspaper publishing is upon us—in typesetting, in printing, in photography, and in the counting, stacking, and bundling of newspapers. By bringing about economies in production, it should enable newspapers to hire and retain the kind of talented young people whom we have allowed to slip away from us too often in the past. As for the new techniques in the newsroom, they will certainly make newspapers more attractive and readable and help us to hold our audience.

Still, for all those who report, write, and edit the news, the truly significant departure in the coming years will lie elsewhere.

If I am right, this great development will be—it must be—the cultivation by every newspaperman of a passionate interest in the meaning and the substance of the news, in the essential truth of what we print, in the relevance of that essential truth to the questions that readers will want answered.

Now don't misunderstand me. I am not implying that newspapers have been indifferent to the truth or to substance. But newspapers have inevitably mirrored to a great extent the interests and tastes of their audience. And, given the nature of our audience in years past, I think we have often been inclined to reach for the angle instead of the essence.

I think we may safely assume that now we have a more serious audience than we had a generation ago. And the new reader is a better-educated man than was his father. In spite of himself he has had some knowledge and wisdom thrust upon him. He has

traveled more than the people of earlier generations—both in person and through the picture tube. Television has indeed helped to widen his views and interests. So have the magazines and the paperbacks.

Newspapers, of course, have played an increasingly effective part in this widening of interests and raising of tastes. Many newspapers have been giving their readers deeper coverage of what we may call “citizen news.” Thanks to this kind of help from his newspapers the reader has often been able to make informed judgments; to make up his mind on some of the vexing problems that plague humanity.

Why, then, do I say that the difference that is coming will be in the emphasis on the substance rather than on the shadow?

Perhaps the way to proceed is to take a single example—an example in which the new journalism appears at its best and the old journalism at its worst.

If you will glance back on the past ten years or so, I think you will see one broad event, or story, that had all the elements of great drama—pace, passion, courage, cowardice, violence, reason, historical significance. This was the story of *the law*. At the heart of it was the Supreme Court. Certainly, none of our other institutions of government—not even the presidency—exercised a more powerful influence on the lives and customs of the American people.

How did the press cover this epic story of the Court and the law?

Among the first in our craft to sense the role the Court would play was James Reston, the chief Washington correspondent of *The New York Times*. In

1955 he hired an eager and tireless reporter named Anthony Lewis and sent him to Harvard for a year to cram into his inquisitive mind all the law it could absorb. For the next nine years Lewis wrote one of the most satisfying chapters in the story of American journalism. He led his readers into the great marble hall where the nine secluded men were trying to apply the principles of the Anglo-Saxon law to a social revolution. With amazing lucidity, he traced their intricate reasoning and explained the precedents from which it rose. His stories were models of historical insight and accuracy even though they were written under the pressures of daily journalism.

Unfortunately, however, Tony Lewis's reports appeared only in *The New York Times* and the limited number of newspapers that subscribed to the *Times* news service.

Some time after Lewis began to cover the court, *The Washington Post* assigned James E. Clayton to similar duties. Clayton, too, was a sensitive, discerning reporter with a gift of exposition. His stories were more than accurate—they were informed. But, again, his work appeared only in the *Post* and eventually in the papers that joined the *Los Angeles Times-Washington Post* news service.

The rest of the American press, for the most part, relied on the press associations for its reporting of the Court. If my sampling of the newspapers was a fair indication, at least half of them took their court news from The Associated Press.

Now, how did these newspapers that relied on the AP serve their readers?

Before I give a direct answer, let me first take you out to the ball game.

Let's suppose that when the time comes to cover the World Series, one of the great press associations decides that it can spare only one reporter who has any knowledge of the game. Let's suppose that, for purposes of speed, it decides that this reporter should not sit where he can see the game but stay on an open line in a phone booth below the stands. And let's suppose that in order to let him know what is happening on the field, a man who doesn't know very much about baseball sits in the press box

and sends him by pneumatic tube an official summary of what is going on.

Does all this sound silly? Let's carry it a step further.

Let's say that the man in the phone booth, handicapped as he is by not seeing the game, writes a muddled story and even gets the score wrong.

Now, while we're at it, let's add one final absurdity. The newspapers that take the service print the muddled story, wrong score and all, and no one—not a copy reader, not an editor, not a publisher—ever complains about it.

Making allowance for a little poetic license, that is the kind of coverage hundreds of AP member newspapers gave their readers on the Supreme Court during these ten historic years.

Again and again when the Court was hurling its thunderbolts, the unfortunate reporter sweated in a phone booth in the bowels of the building, missing the oral explanations of the justices, and trying to puzzle out the printed opinions that were fed to him by pneumatic tube from the court room.

And what were the results?

I shall cite only three unhappy examples, which have occurred since I left Washington in 1963 to become a retailer of press association copy.

Example I: The Court's opinion on May 20, 1962, on the sit-in demonstrations in four southern states. The AP lead said:

The Supreme Court ruled Monday that a state or city may not interfere in any fashion with peaceful racial integration demonstrations in public places of business.

Wrong score. The Court did nothing of the kind. It said that a city that officially maintained segregation could not prosecute Negroes for seeking service in privately owned stores. The heart of the decision was that it applied *only* to those areas where segregation was official policy. The AP statement that a city or state could not interfere with demonstrations *in any fashion* caused consternation in those southern communities that had made a decent attempt to end segregation.

Example II: The Cuban expropriation opinion of March 23, 1964. The AP said:

Fidel Castro won a major victory in the U.S. Supreme Court today. The high court ruled, in an 8-1 decision, that U.S. courts are without power to rule on the legality of his expropriation of property in Cuba owned by Americans.

Wrong score again. The lead reached for an angle and missed the essence. Castro won no major vic-

Wallace Carroll became editor and publisher of the Journal and the Twin City Sentinel of Winston-Salem, North Carolina, in 1963, after serving with United Press, the Office of War Information, and the Washington bureau of The New York Times. This article is drawn from the seventh Pulitzer Memorial Lecture, which he delivered at Columbia University, on May 21, 1965.

tory; he won title to a bill of lading for \$175,250; but to this day has not collected a penny of it. If there was a victor in the case, it was the State Department of the United States. For reasons of its own, and not to oblige Castro, the department had pleaded for the decision which the Court eventually reached. Its object was to keep the federal and state courts from intervening in sensitive expropriation cases about which they knew nothing — cases that might affect American relations with many other countries. As a result of the court's decision, cases like these were left in the hands of American professional diplomats.

Example III: The Ross Barnett contempt decision of April 5, 1964. The AP lead said:

The Supreme Court decided today that Government Paul B. Johnson, Jr. and former Governor Ross Barnett of Mississippi are not entitled to a jury trial on criminal contempt charges.

The right line-up but the wrong score. A footnote to the opinion, which was explained orally by the justices, was missed by the AP reporter in his phone booth. (It was also missed by the UPI reporter, who also was probably down in the bowels of the building.) By means of the footnote and the explanation, the justices indicated that any one convicted of criminal contempt without a jury trial could not be given a sentence more severe than might be imposed for a "petty offense." This was a striking departure from anything the Court had said before. It reduced the maximum penalty the governors might suffer from three years' imprisonment to a few months. Contrary to the impression carried by the news story, it was the act of a clement, not a vindictive, Court.

The AP story stood for six hours but was corrected for morning papers. The two other stories I have mentioned were never corrected.

Now, my purpose in citing this record is not to impeach The Associated Press. I am looking beyond the press association to the newspapers and the able technicians who produced them.

Thousands of copy editors must have run their pencils over those stories of the Court. Thousands of telegraph editors, news editors, and managing editors must have seen to it that the stories were nicely fitted into their front pages under carefully written headlines. Thousands of other newspapermen must have seen the stories in print.

Wasn't there any one among these thousands who said to himself the next day: "That's a hell of a decision. I wonder what Tony Lewis says about it in the *Times*"? Wasn't there any one at all who

was interested enough to get and read the text of the opinion?

No matter now. I hope I have made my point.

The new journalism will be inspired by a passionate interest in such substance of the news. And this interest will be shared not only by nosy and well-informed reporters on the news beats, but by nosy and well-informed deskmen and editors.

In fact, deskmen will have a creative role to play in the new journalism. For its most exciting element will be the interplay of efforts among reporters, deskmen, and editors, all equally inquisitive and knowing, in separating the substance from the illusory shadow and bringing the reader a coherent account of contemporary trends and events.

Below are excerpts from a letter sent by Wes Gallagher, general manager of The Associated Press, to Mr. Carroll:

We don't like the present [Supreme Court] setup, but it is not of our making. I suggested some time ago to the Chief Justice that the decisions be distributed in one of the large conference rooms where the doors would be locked for at least half an hour or possibly an hour to permit reporters to read the decisions and digest their import before they dictate to their offices. All would be released at the same time and no one would be at a disadvantage. We have had no response to the suggestion.

We also have asked on occasion that the court provide an information officer to clarify some decisions. The court has declined to do this.

I think you oversimplified the case by comparing our coverage to a man covering the World Series from a booth below the stands and that you did The Associated Press an injustice.

We assign three men to the Supreme Court on decision days. One man, usually the same one and knowledgeable on court procedure, is in the courtroom. His job is (1) to put the printed opinions (distributed separately as they are read aloud) into a capsule and dispatch them via pneumatic tube to two other staffers a floor below and (2) watch for any other information and report it, in longhand via the pneumatic tube, to the staffers below.

I note that you say that the men below miss the oral explanations of the justices. Our staffers who have handled the courtroom assignment the last few years say they do not recall any of the justices explaining or elaborating on an opinion as it was read.

One of our men in the booth is always Paul Yost, an extremely careful man, who has handled for more than twenty years one of the toughest assignments in Washington.

Yost and his colleagues (this goes for others, too) must quickly identify a case, determine the decision, wade quickly through thousands of legalistic words of the majority and dissenting views, refer to the background which they have assembled and get the story moving by telephone dictation — all in a matter of a few minutes. This is quite different from the problem of *The New York Times*, which has hours to digest a decision before press time.

Reflections of an ex-striker

By ALBERT L. HAMMOND

When the Baltimore *Sunpapers* moved to their new building fifteen years ago, we in the newsroom were alerted to move on July 4 and then at the last minute put off. The move was made on Christmas Day. There was an account widely repeated, and enjoyed, that at a final inspection someone had asked, "Where is the newsroom?" The big presses were ready and there was provision for the compositors, the stereotypers, the engravers, the mailers, and for the circulation, advertising, business, and cafeteria staffs; but there was no place for the people who write and put together the "information content" of the paper. So the move was delayed six months while a fifth floor was built.

I do not guarantee the truth, or the falsity, of the story of the fifth floor. (The floor was added and we are on it.) But the parable came to represent the feeling of the newsroom as to its standing in the regard of the ownership. The putative publisher is heard saying: Something has to go into the body-type columns, but writers and revisers for the home plant are always in oversupply, of adequate quality like aspirin, and hireable at the bottom of the market.

For my own part I think this attitude was never (or seldom) express or conscious on the part of the businessmen who run the business policy of the *Sunpapers*, but it came to be felt by the party of the second part.

Two things should in fairness be added. To its byline correspondents in the Washington and foreign bureaus the *Sun* is supposed to be generous, especially as to expenses. We used to hear in the days when

Paul Patterson headed the company of the dither in his London hotel when the staff would hear he was about to arrive and we would hear of his instructions to a new man in London to remember the *Sun's* reputation for spending. It is a reputation that never extended home.

The other thing that must be added is that in the morning *Sun* newsroom itself, in the relations of all ranks with those immediately and successively higher, all has been generally good and excellent. Certainly I would want to record that no request I have ever made has met other than consideration and kindness. (I have been told that the absence of personal and union harassment which I had found on the morning *Sun* is not always so on the *Evening Sun* and *Sunday Sun* and is distinctly not so in the other departments covered by the Guild; but of this I have no personal acquaintance.) Even in money matters the *Sun* has frequently been generous. But it seems it must be so not as a matter of due, of justice, of rule, and never of contract; but of paternal largesse. Governments and institutions by now should have been sufficiently admonished by historians and psychologists to learn better. Even fathers can be expected to do better.

With resentment of paternalism growing in Guild ranks came the merger of the Baltimore unit with the Washington Guild. This happened while I was away teaching in North Carolina and it annoyed me when I got back. My annoyance taught me, I think, something of the annoyance of the *Sun* top command. As a Marylander I have always wished the seat of national government were in the center of the country and not expanding its agencies over more and more of my state; and as a Baltimorean I have always felt of Washington as a parvenu, not really a city anyway but a kept woman of all the states.

This may be taken as justifying the *Sun's* contention that it is illicit to bring up the much higher newspaper pay in Washington. It does justify it in part. Yet it is hard to see why, when there are self-supporting corporations in the two cities, their pay

Albert L. Hammond, a member of the Newspaper Guild who participated in the strike against the Baltimore Sunpapers, is a copyreader for those papers and an associate professor emeritus of philosophy at The Johns Hopkins University.



Chronology of the Baltimore strike

- April, 1964: Baltimore Newspaper Guild merged with Washington Guild.
- December, 1964: Washington Guild won \$200 minimum weekly wage for experienced reporters at The Washington Post (starting December 1, 1965).
- February 26, 1965: Guild won (by 2-1) National Labor Relations Board election at Baltimore Sunpapers, held because of management challenge to merger.
- March 5: Sunpapers and Guild began negotiations for new contract, with Guild asking for a union shop and for wages more in line with Washington scales, which stood at least \$25 a week higher for experienced newsmen.
- April 17: Guild struck the Sunpapers after contract expired at midnight April 16.
- April 19: Sunpapers suspended publication when members of other unions refused to cross Guild picket lines.
- April 20: Baltimore News-American suspended, charging that members of craft unions had violated their contracts by refusing to report to work at Sunpapers. Baltimore was left without newspapers.
- May 14: Guild-Sunpaper negotiations suspended. NLRB regional office issued a complaint against the News-American, charging that its shutdown was illegal.
- May 21: Elmer Brown, president of the International Typographical Union, revoked the out-of-town work cards issued to Baltimore members.
- May 25: ITU members, unable to work out of town, began to report back to the Sunpapers. The three Baltimore papers announced that they would resume publication.
- May 27: Publication resumed after a blackout of thirty-eight days.
- May 29: Guild offered to end strike and submit wage question to arbitration.
- June 3: Guild voted to end strike with acceptance of Sunpaper offer to submit wage and union-shop questions to arbitration and to make no reprisals against strikers.
- June 4: Guild members returned to work.

scales should not have some mutual relevance—especially when the Baltimore business is generally agreed to be the richer and more profitable.

But my feeling toward the Washington merger, while it may have been like the *Sun's*, was not that of most Baltimore Guildsmen. Why, I asked, could we not have merged with Annapolis or Salisbury? Why must we exclaim our incapacity and ask Washington to rescue us? Although a union member, I have none of the unionist's piety toward "bargaining." I was brought up to think a gentleman does not bargain. Well, we are no longer gentlemen (on the whole, to the good); but I do not like asking Washington to do for me what I do not like to think of doing for myself.

(The Washington Guild and Guildsmen have been careful to leave Baltimore decisions to Baltimore and to offer but not intrude help.)

My Guild brothers, mostly non-Baltimoreans, amusedly sympathized with my parochial feelings, but did not share them. Washington had gone far ahead of us, indeed had a "decent" contract; the way to get on is to imitate and the best way to imitate is to join. So followed months of weekly bulletins, cheerleading our fighting spirit, often by decrying and deriding the company, and quite indifferent to any effect upon our opposition, which was also reading the bulletins. I sometimes thought it was like having a football coach's pep talk audible in both dressing rooms.

So the *Sun* command, already embarrassed, in its secure sense of virtue, at having to bargain its domestic affairs with a not fully accepted neighbor, added a large case of hurt feelings and, by early spring, a clear determination to have a strike and liquidate the insolent Guild.

And the Guild, its spirit well roused, was in no mood to put aside the dare.

After January, I thought a strike odds-on. The last prestrike dealings of the company with the Guild, especially the company's noneconomic offer, could scarcely be read otherwise than as in the first scene of *Romeo and Juliet*: "I will bite my thumb at them."

After the strike was on, feeling in Baltimore showed some indifference and some annoyance with both sides. Some persons came to a surprised recognition that *Sun* pay had fallen behind and its fringe or welfare program was, in the contract, virtually nonexistent. Some thought newspaper men are professionals and should not subject the public to inconvenience. Some already liked, some disliked the *Sun*. Much division, of course, was on union-management, "liberal-conservative" lines or roughly equivalent lines of friendship with *Sun* money.

I was told of the indignation of a proper matron that a friend of hers, a woman who had never done anything to put out a *Sunpaper* but who had inherited stock the closely held company had not reclaimed, "was in a state." She was in a state for fear "her extra dividend," on which she was counting for her summer cruise to Norway, was being endangered by the quite improper pickets then walking in a cold rain in the belief they might get pay more in line with that of others like longshoremen, bus drivers, teachers, stock clerks.

I began to suffer some counter-indignation but deflected it into wondering if it is best to have money owning newspapers. Once the owners were themselves editors as well as gamblers and I am for such — in both roles. There are incorporated "associates" — say architects — but the associates are the makers. (Leonardo could head a workshop of painters.) Should businessmen and female legatees own a stable of writers, even newspaper writers? What then? Well, do colleges have owners? They have boards — perhaps could do without them — and have not always paid even as well as newspapers. Maybe we had better keep the female legatees; but we must keep them away from the uncouth pickets.

In the Baltimore upshot both sides might feel beaten. The company lost its intention to get rid of the union by being hard. The union lost its intention to enforce a union shop by being militant. The company seemed to reveal something of its chagrin in its

bland and not strictly accurate announcement of the settlement. The Guild speakers at the meeting that voted to ratify the settlement were often still either defiant or apologetic.

And both sides could have had ulterior regret. Often when a good outcome is about to be reached in good form it falls into fracas. Some haver, puffed with generosity, is about to give when he is shocked to find the nonhaver grabbing and belaboring. The Guild might have said to itself that at the last contract the company had been relatively complaisant, felt itself still more so, and that this beginning could be expanded. The Guild might even have managed something better than that Machiavellian meekness. And the company — when the Guild got uppity in the company's superior eyes the company had that much finer a chance for the most rewarding of the virtues for a superior: magnanimity. Both sides fell for the easy gospel of toughness and both got beat.

Yet there are winnings. The Guild has some important gains and will doubtless have more from the arbitrators. And the Guildsmen have been on the outside and have survived a battle and feel (and I have been told this also by some on the inside who have seen them come back) a new competence and existential assurance.

And the *Sun* may have lost an extra dividend while winning an awareness of non-invulnerability and a new liveliness. The community may be the better off that neither side won "a famous victory."

Playing tag with the Kennedys

From the United Press International wire, July 2:

(N.Y.)
WASHINGTON.--SEN. ROBERT F. KENNEDY D-MASS SAID TODAY HE WILL MAKE CERTAIN THAT THE FACILITIES OF THE SUNMOUNT VETERANS HOSPITAL IN TUPPER LAKE, N.Y., SCHEDULED FOR CLOSING THIS FALL, WILL BE MADE AVAILAEBE FOR S STATE SUPPORTED HOSPITAL FOR THE MENTALLY RETARDED.
KENNEDY, IN A STATEMENT, SAID THAT HE HAS ASCERTAINED THAT THE STATE REHABILITATION HOSPITAL HAS BEEN AUTHORIZED, FUNDS HAVE BEEN APPROPRIATED AND THE COMMUNITY OF TUPPER LAKE WANTS IT.

7/2--JD547PED

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IN ABOVE UPI-137 PLS READ IT XXX KENNEDY-R-MAS S SAID ETC.

CORRECTION
IN UPI-137 (N.Y.) READ IN 1ST LINE XXX KENNEDY D-N.Y. SAID TODAY HE ETC.

WCNS

7/2--JD550PED



Press agent —

By BEN H. BAGDIKIAN

For a time during World War II this writer was an instructor in aerial navigation, an exercise that required one student navigator to direct the plane to a practice target while a second navigator, in the same plane but out of touch with the first, tracked where the plane had been and where it was headed. One night the first navigator said the plane would hit the target at 11 p.m. and the target would be El Paso. Asked where we would be at 11, the second navigator wrote, "Albuquerque." At 11 o'clock a large city loomed out of the night. Both men looked jubilant. On the ground I had to tell the second man we were not in Albuquerque but in El Paso. He was stunned. He pulled out his log, full of statistics like compass headings and celestial fixes, waved it in front of my face and cried, "But that's impossible! I've got the figures to *prove* we're in Albuquerque!" He did have the figures to prove it. But the sign on the tower said El Paso and all the natives claimed to be Têxans.

This episode came to mind when the President in his June 1 press conference described the care with which he decided to send the Marines to Santo

Domingo: "I had 237 individual conversations during that period and about 35 meetings with various people . . ."

The President is a lover of statistics and of appearances and in the fierce gamesmanship that has developed in the White House he has proved himself an indefatigable practitioner of the art of public relations. This has presented special problems for the press corps, but not simply because a President tries to put himself in the best light, because all do that. It has dawned only recently on Washington correspondents just how deeply committed the President is to his public relations practice.

Joseph Kraft, writing in *Harper's*, believes the President's troubles with the press "stem largely from the inability of the press to see the President as just another flack."

What happens if the press has to view the President of the United States as "just another flack"?

The problem is not the existence of public relations in the White House, which has to consider its "image" if for no other reason than to know whether it is being understood. But there is flackery and flackery and the White House has pushed the techniques of PR to the point of negative returns.



but still President

Some White House deceptions are forgiven as part of the job. President Eisenhower would have been wiser to refuse comment on the U-2 shot down over Russia. As a national leader the President has to keep himself open to negotiations for the national good and if he publicly associates himself with all the dirty tricks that go on behind the scenes he damages his power — not because he tells the other side anything it doesn't privately know, but because he becomes a public symbol of the dirty tricks with whom other national leaders cannot negotiate. Precisely because the President is more than a promoter of his own program and reputation, more than proprietor of government agencies, but also a symbol of national aims and values, it is important that he be listened to — and speak — as something more than a shrewd public relations man.

Some of the deceptions have been important. For weeks President Johnson told the public it was being misled by reporters who said the government was considering widening the war in Viet Nam. The reporters were correct and the President wrong. The White House has implied that it consulted the Organization of American States before committing troops to the Dominican Republic, but it never told

the OAS beforehand that it was considering troops.

Other illusions are of interest chiefly within the trade, such as the time the President gave a backgrounder in Texas but asked correspondents to put on a Washington dateline (which most did).

The problem is partly the astonishing portion of Presidential attention given to public relations. No President has monitored his public image with more zeal. He often pulls popularity poll results out of his pocket. He adds up hours of time given to the press and it is enormous, though much of it is ritualistic or non-useful. In one extended session a French correspondent whispered to an American that he had a Paris deadline coming up and had to leave. The President was holding forth on the White House south balcony. The American whispered back that the Frenchman couldn't possibly leave. "But we've been here for an hour and a half and he is saying nothing and I have a deadline." The American hissed, "Would you leave if Charles de Gaulle were doing this?" The Frenchman stiffened and whispered, "Charles de Gaulle would not spend fifteen minutes talking about the rust on his balcony."

The President and his staff seem to ring like burglar alarms whenever and wherever the name

"Johnson" appears in print or is uttered on the air. A small item in a West Texas paper mentioned Billie Sol Estes in connection with the President in a three-paragraph story on the inside; the editor claims he got a telephone call from the White House in time to kill the item in later editions. One television correspondent was awakened in the middle of the night by the White House, which had heard that he planned to make some critical remarks the next day. A newspaper correspondent wrote a critical morning story and got three telephone calls from White House aides before breakfast. The *New York Review of Books*, a medium-highbrow publication, ran a scathing review of Johnson's Viet Nam policy and its editors got a phone call from a White House aide suggesting that in the future they have Viet Nam books reviewed by Joseph Alsop (who approves of the Johnson policy).

The President has three television sets for simultaneous viewing of the three networks, plus an AP and UPI ticker. Apparently he watches them more closely than some of the editors. One night a startled wire service editor in Washington got a White House call later preserved in the house organ, *U.P.I. Reporter*, as follows:

"Hello?"

"Hello, Pat, this is Lyndon Johnson."

"Yes, Mr. President."

"Say, I have here . . . (pause) . . . A101N from Johnson City, Texas, about the home-
stead, by Kyle Thompson. Let's see . . . (pause)
... you say in there that there's going to be a
fee for the tour. Well, that's not right at all.
The idea is to give it to the people."

"Just a minute, Mr. President, and I'll get the story."

"You see what it says. It says 'the home was opened to the public for fee tours.' That isn't right. You see, it's for free. That's the idea. Do you see that?"

"Yes, Mr. President. It looks like they dropped the 'r' in the word 'free.' I guess they omitted it in transmission."

"Well, Pat, it sure does mean just the opposite of what we mean."

"It sure does, Mr. President. I'll fix it."

"Well, we want it to be free."

"Certainly, Mr. President. I'll straighten it out right away."

"I'd appreciate it if you would clean this up for me."

"I certainly will, Mr. President."

"We hope you will take the necessary steps to straighten this out."

"Yes, sir, Mr. President."

"Thank you, Pat."

"Thank you for letting us know, Mr. President."

But the problem is not just quantity of presidential time and intervention. Some of it is less meticulous

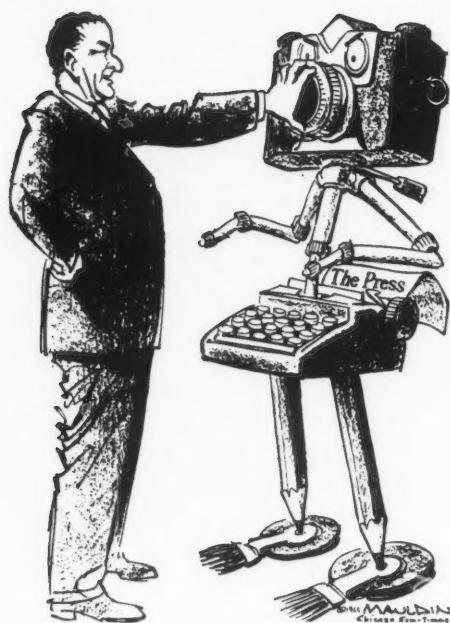
than his editing of UPI typos and some of it has such an implausible ending that it can only harm his credibility. He likes to be the miracle worker, so takes pains to knock down stories predicting what he will do. In December he complained that the *Washington Evening Star* reported falsely that he would propose a 3 per cent pay raise for Federal workers. The *Star* dutifully reported the Presidential complaint. Then the President proposed a 3 per cent pay raise for federal workers.

At about the same time, the President complained that *The Washington Post* falsely reported that he planned to ask for a \$4 billion cut in excise taxes. "The President is described as feeling that the \$4 billion figure couldn't be further wrong," the news story said. The then press secretary, George Reedy, said, "That figure bears no relationship to any decision that has been made." The President proposed an excise tax cut of \$3,964,000,000, which bears a relationship to \$4,000,000,000 as 99.1 to 100.0.

Nor is it unknown that a responsible White House aide will confirm a reporter's story before it is printed, and after the published story causes unexpected embarrassment another equally responsible White House aide will tell reporters that the story is wrong and was never checked with the White House.

While doing all this, the President maintains sympathetic relations with editors and publishers beyond anything known before. Lyndon Johnson is the only Democratic President in this century who seems to be on better terms with newspaper publishers than with the working press. This isn't bad; it is merely astonishing. I. F. Stone, an incorrigible heretic in a town with increasing pressures for journalistic orthodoxy, has written, "Johnson sometimes seems to think the Constitution made him not only commander-in-chief of the nation's armed forces but editor-in-chief of its newspapers."

Among the institutional casualties of this crushing program of public relations are the press briefings by the press secretary, which have decreasing content, and the Presidential press conference, which becomes increasingly rhetorical. Even the semi-confidential backgrounder has often been reduced to an absurdity. On April 7, for example, such a session was held to give prior interpretation of the President's Johns Hopkins University speech offering unconditional discussions on Viet Nam. The briefing was given in the White House by Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara, then-Acting Secretary of State George Ball, and special assistant McGeorge Bundy. Ordinarily it is not cricket to print names of briefing officers but in this case the White House disclosed them by staging a make-believe start of the



Mauldin in Chicago Sun-Times

'You're out of focus'

briefing for television and radio for the 6 p.m. newscasts to help build public interest in the speech.

When it came to the non-attributable Q-and-A, the cameras were shut off but the same spirit of charade continued to pervade the session. Max Frankel of *The New York Times* asked why the government had waited so long to make public its aims and its basis for settlement in Viet Nam. Secretary Ball said that there was no delay, that the government had always had the position presented in the President's speech.

"Are you saying," Frankel asked, "that this speech is not news, that we should treat it as old stuff?" Ball replied that the government had always held the same position, though the "formulations" might be new and, he added as a parting shot, "it may be a little clearer to you." To which John Scali, ABC diplomatic correspondent, rose to say, "Since this has all been said before, would the Secretary please refresh the reporters' memories on the last time anyone in the government offered unconditional discussions on Viet Nam?" There was general laughter and no answer.

The White House seems so obsessed with keeping the news record favorable that it is defensive about first-hand journalism that it could find useful. The press helped dispel some of the wild confusion within

government on the Dominican *coup d'etat* with reporting from the scene that was better than official diplomatic and military reporting.

The same was true in Viet Nam. John Mecklin, chief information officer in Saigon during the time when David Halberstam of the *Times* and Malcolm Browne of the AP were official dirty words, writes in his book, *Mission in Torment*, that Halberstam and Browne were essentially correct in their reporting and the government essentially wrong.

The White House obsession with PR would be easier to handle if it came from another source. Most correspondents learned to cope with flackdom a long time ago: they react when special pleaders originate news; they recognize the implausibly rosy release; they instinctively check with the opposition; they treat with contempt a man who deliberately flim-flams them.

What is special here is Kraft's observation: most reporters have trouble looking at the President as just another flack. He is not just another flack. He is a PR man in his obsession with image, his unrestrained attempts to create illusion for tactical reasons, and his concern with appearances no matter how implausible. But he is also President of the United States, carrying the burdens of his office seriously.

The problem is that Lyndon Johnson appeals to reporters with all the dignity and power of his position as President and when this does not produce the results he wants, begins manipulating them and the news in ways that are not highly regarded even at the Press Club bar. He is trying to have it both ways. The weakness of many correspondents is that the President is too valuable a source in the competition for news to be ignored as a lesser PR man would be. But deeper than that is the conflict the President creates in many serious correspondents who respect the office of President and the man in it, but whose professional standards tell them that what is going on is common, ordinary press agency.

The President and his aides often seem to ignore the demands of professionalism upon correspondents, which require exercise of independent judgment based not on personality or pressure but on honest discrimination. Too often correspondents are asked to choose between disrespect for the reader and disrespect for the President.

One simple answer may be to report the unabashed intervention of the White House into the news process. The dialogue in *U.P.I. Reporter* was seen widely in the trade, but it was not on the UPI wire. Ordinarily this would be healthy avoidance of narcissism. But perhaps the time has come to report the President not only as originator of news but also as editor of it.

Editorial notebook

Must "a light go out in a shadowed state"?

From Hodding Carter, editor and publisher of the *Delta Democrat-Times* of Greenville, Mississippi, has come a special plea for Hazel Brannon Smith, the valiant editor and publisher of Lexington, Mississippi. The case can best be stated by Mr. Carter:

"Mrs. Smith's long battle against the mass forces of bigotry in her county is known to almost every newspaper man and woman in the United States. Her courage has won a long list of prizes, and in 1964 she became the first woman to win a Pulitzer Prize for editorial writing.

What is less well known is the precariousness of her situation today. After more than ten years of standing up to the members of the Citizens' Council and the Ku Klux Klan of her area, she is in desperate financial straits—just as the civil rights struggle in Mississippi appears to be nearing victory for the challengers of the status quo.

"As I have written before, it so happens that Holmes County is made up partly of hill and partly of flat delta land; and too many of its citizens combine the worse rather than the better qualities of each region: the arrogant feudalism and reactionary outlook of the old-time, life-and-death masters of vast acres; and the provincial suspicion, the racial and religious bigotry, and the predilection for violence which have traditionally been part of the character of hillmen everywhere.

"Until a few years ago Hazel Smith's career made an enviable success story. She came breezing into Holmes County, Mississippi, in 1936, a high-spirited, energetic, and joyful girl with a journalism degree from the University of Alabama, and a loan of \$3,000 to go toward the purchase of a broken-down weekly, the *Durant News*.

"Working day and night, learning the art of printing as well as of publishing, tirelessly striving to make Lexington, Durant, and all of Holmes County better and more profitable places in which to live, Hazel wrought miracles in the old shop in Lexington in which the papers were printed. Today, one of the most modern and complete weekly printing plants in the state is housed there in a pleasant building.

"With the purchase of the *Lexington Advertiser* in 1943, Hazel stepped up her fight against the slot-machine operators, liquor racketeers, gamblers, and conniving officials who were finding easy pickings and little opposition in the clique-ridden rural county. In 1946, thanks principally to her persistence, a grand jury voted sixty-four indictments after investigating organized crime in Holmes County.

"But Hazel became one of the objects of court action herself when the trial judge found her guilty of contempt of court for interviewing a witness, the widow of a Negro for whose death by whipping five white men were indicted but not convicted.

"The judge fined her fifty dollars and sentenced her to fifteen days in jail, but suspended sentence and put her 'under good behavior' for two years. Hazel refused the gag and appealed to the State Supreme Court (which later ruled in her favor). Hazel won the cheers of her fellow editors in and outside of the state. But she had made dangerous enemies."

Mr. Carter then recites the story of the advertising boycott against Hazel Brannon Smith's newspapers, the firing of her husband, "Smitty," as administrator of the Holmes County Hospital despite the medical staff's unanimous resolution supporting him, the founding of a rival weekly with a subsidy from members of the White Citizens' Council and the Mississippi Supreme Court's unanimous reversal of a libel judgment against Mrs. Smith. Mr. Carter adds:

"Perhaps the supreme irony is that nowhere outside the Deep South would Hazel Brannon Smith be labeled even a liberal in her racial views. If she must be categorized, then call her a moderate: a churchgoing, humanity-loving newspaper woman who takes seriously her responsibilities toward her fellow men. But that doesn't fit well in Holmes County where the most benighted are today also the most powerful. . . . Maybe the brave bigots will stop putting up. Maybe the now silent, decent people will begin speaking up. . . . If not, another light will have gone out in a shadowed state.

"We believe that if Mrs. Smith can be helped for another year she will survive. Her fight is the fight of all of us, and she deserves our aid."

We of the *Columbia Journalism Review* heartily agree with Mr. Carter. This writer is joining with Mr. Carter in a donation to a Hazel Brannon Smith Fund. We ask others to join with us. All indications are that a few thousand dollars will turn the tide. Checks should be made out to Hazel Brannon Smith and sent to the *Columbia Journalism Review*.

EDWARD W. BARRETT

Second quarter, 1965:

Floods—Santo Domingo—Gemini

Here are accounts of events of the spring of 1965 and the issues in journalism that they raised — from weather warnings to the Caribbean and outer space

Back to nature

In the Middle West this spring, the Mississippi River and its tributaries reached record crests from St. Paul to Hannibal. Tornadoes leaped through the states of the Mississippi and Ohio valleys. For once, the newspapers and broadcasters of the region had their fill of one of journalism's natural nutriments — disaster. The tornadoes struck harder at the region than any since 1925. The flood epic was the greatest since the rampage of the Ohio in 1937.

News organizations had two functions to fulfill: to offer warnings that could save life and property and to record and explain the destruction.

The warning function was particularly important before the tornadoes. In both the five-state Palm Sunday storms and the May 6 twisters in the Minneapolis area, it fell to broadcasters to warn listeners. On Palm Sunday, more than 250 persons were killed and 5,000 injured. Immediately afterward there was a question as to whether stations had responded promptly enough, and whether the week-end short-handedness on news staffs had led to any delay. A Weather Bureau investigating team reported in May that the stations had been "very cooperative" and had helped to save many lives. But the team added that one reason for casualties was that listeners could not tell the difference between "forecasts" and "warnings." It did not directly lay the blame on

either broadcasters or the bureau. It recommended two-way teletypewriter communication between broadcasters and local weather stations.

The May 6 tornadoes in Minnesota led all but the most determined rock 'n' roll stations in the Twin Cities to switch to tornado warnings for more than five hours of the evening, while their listeners huddled in basements. Minnesotans, unlike many of the victims of the April twisters, responded promptly to warnings. The stations employed a mixture of Weather Bureau bulletins, calls from mobile units, and reports from listeners, meanwhile transforming men who in some cases had been disc jockeys into reporter-narrators. So thoroughly did one announcer turn reporter that, after listening to a caller tell how his car was tossed 200 feet into a lake and how he had paddled to safety, the announcer asked: "And which direction was the funnel heading when it left you?"

Despite a scattering of erroneous reports (which were criticized by the *Minneapolis Star*), the stations managed to get early "fixes" on the twisters and to plot probable courses. Two radio stations in particular, KSTP of St. Paul and WCCO of Minneapolis, were especially effective. Most important, they undoubtedly saved lives.

The flood story started with the issuance of a Weather Bureau warning on March 19, before the snow had melted. By April 12, the waters of the Mississippi and its tributaries in northern Minnesota

SURVEY

had reached flood stage and the valley for 400 miles was bracing for its worst high water.

Where the tornadoes became broadcasting's story, the flood — a slower-moving, more complex crisis — gave newspapers a full opportunity. For the dozen or more papers in towns lining the river, the flood was a test of their ability to break out of standard formats to cover the biggest local story of the year, literally at their doorsteps.

Numbers game

Within days after the arrival of correspondents in Santo Domingo, following the landing of United States forces there on April 28, an old debate began again. In more strident tones, it was another phase of the bitter dispute that began with Viet Nam coverage in 1963. The questions were the same: Were correspondents undermining the position of the United States government? Was the government bent on deceiving the reporters, the public, and itself?

Even some of the participants were the same: *Time* aggressively attacked the work of correspondents on the scene and the coverage in their newspapers. For *The New York Times*, Tad Szulc took the place of David Halberstam as the administration's villain. Barnard L. Collier of the *New York Herald Tribune* shared the role. Pro-administration pundits once again skewered field correspondents.

The *Review* presents here notes on the early phases of the government-press conflict, by a Canadian correspondent who was in Santo Domingo, and has covered Washington for the past three years for *The Toronto Star*.

This account is not intended to debate the merits of United States policies and actions in the Dominican Republic. It is an attempt to recount difficulties involved in getting at the facts needed for such a debate. Nor does it suggest that only the Americans made it difficult to get at the truth. Junta and rebel factions both placed more stress on favorable publicity than on accuracy.

The central issue of public policy from the start, of course, was whether the United States was justified in intervening.

The first public justification offered was the need to save the lives and property of Americans and other foreign citizens. But privately, from the beginning, United States embassy officials indicated the real reason was the fear of Communist involvement in the rebellion. The official attempts to document this charge were at the heart of the controversy between the government and the press.

The first suggestion of Communist involvement came shortly after the first wave of reporters landed in Santo Domingo. United States embassy officials on April 29 showed several reporters a list of fifty-three known Communists allegedly involved. This was the opening of what came to be a numbers game.

The embassy officials underscored their belief of Communist involvement by citing "Communist" street-fighting methods; "Castro-style" invective over Radio Santo Domingo after the rebels captured it; and the "Communist tactic" of handing out weapons from arsenals to civilians.

The officials also repeated stories of atrocities they had heard about but not witnessed. These included the "Castro-style" massacre of twelve policemen by a firing squad, and the parading of heads on poles through the streets. The truth of these tales has never been established, and they were not again retailed by American officials.

The information given out to early arrivals was on a background basis with no attribution permitted. This posed a classic dilemma. With the streets still in chaos, there was no chance to check either information or names. Yet here was the first hint of the prime reason for intervention.

Every reporter who had the background information knew that others did too. The results was a wave of stories about fifty-three Communists, about rebel methods' resemblance to Communist methods, and about rebel atrocities. If one abided by the rules, all this had to be written on the reporter's own word—"enforced plagiarism," as it has come to be known.

On May 1, several reporters in Washington were informed by administration officials that there were at least fifty-eight "Communists and Castroites" among the rebels. (This list was essentially the same one that had been shown to reporters in Santo Domingo. As written by the Central Intelligence Agency in Washington, it contained five duplications, thus accounting for the new total.)

Before May 2, no U. S. official publicly charged that Communists had taken control of the revolution.

But news stories were already debating the merit of the "unofficial" allegations. In the main, they expressed doubts.

One way the administration chose to bolster its case was by claiming that independent observers on the scene — the American reporters — perceptively had found Communists in control of the revolt. On May 2, the Voice of America, broadcasting arm of the United States Information Agency, prominently stated in its English broadcasts to the Dominican Republic that American reporters in Santo Domingo were writing that Communists controlled the revolution. The implication, of course, was that the reporters had independently come to that conclusion. In fact, no such conclusions had been reached. The Voice broadcast was based on stories based, in turn, on the background statements of the embassy officials and the ambassador. Only literally was the Voice right—the reporters had written that Communists were in control.

To several reporters, at least, it was dirty pool for one arm of the U. S. government (the Voice) to lean on reporters' use of facts given by another arm (the embassy) to justify American policies.

President Johnson made the allegations official in his broadcast the evening of May 2. He said: "What began as a popular democratic revolution committed to democracy and social justice very shortly moved and was taken over and really seized and placed in the hands of a band of Communist conspirators."

This open accusation of Communist control at last put the argument on the table where everyone could chew on it.

Weeks after the event, most observers have concluded that it will be impossible ever to determine whether the revolution at any time was actually controlled by Communists. In any event, the more detailed evidence that became available suggests that the greatest danger occurred before May 20.

Significantly, neither the President nor any other top-level official was again to state the situation in such black-and-white terms.

The President's May 2 statement triggered demands on the scene for proof. The paucity of evidence was in sharp contrast, for example, to the exact photographic details with which the U. S. had documented its case in the 1962 Cuban missile crisis.

During the first two weeks, when the government-press dispute reached its bitter heights, the chief government political spokesman on the scene was Serban Vallimarescu, information officer for Jack Hood Vaughn, assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs. Also frequently present was John King,

formerly a department Latin-American specialist. The chief military spokesman was Colonel George Creel, information officer for the army.

The briefings quickly assumed a predictable pattern. With the military spokesmen there would be a debate over American neutrality. Reporters would cite incidents they had witnessed that suggested the U. S. was aiding the junta. The military spokesmen would nonetheless assure the reporters of U. S. neutrality and promise to check.

The political briefing would be more of the same, this time with the question of Communist involvement added. The exchanges gradually took on the atmosphere of an anything-goes debate rather than any real seeking-out of information.

The constant pressure pushed the spokesmen into sometimes ludicrous attempts to sustain the administration position. For example, the day after the rebels swore in Colonel Caamaño as president, Vallimarescu professed that it was "significant" that Caamaño had posed with a clenched fist.

Washington attempted to provide firmer documentation on May 5, when the State Department got permission to release to reporters a list of fifty-five Communists (the previous fifty-three plus two more).

The first reaction was a storm in Santo Domingo, where the on-scene press contingent felt robbed of a story it had been hounding for a week. The obvious reason for releasing it in Washington was that communications out of Santo Domingo were horrid. One day later, Vallimarescu gave reporters in Santo Domingo the long-desired list.

What he handed over was not the text of the CIA document, but what amounted to a verbatim summary by the Voice. Since the embassy only had one copy, Peter Kihss of *The New York Times* organized a crew of reporters who typed it, single-spaced, on legal-size paper. The military then mimeographed it. When finished, it was thirteen pages long.

Armed at last with the material on which the administration presumably had acted, the press corps pounced to check it. The result was a shambles.

In all the thirteen single-spaced pages, only one paragraph dealt directly with the allegation that Communists had seized control of the rebellion from Juan Bosch's Dominican Revolutionary Party.

This was a statement by one Jose Francisco Peña Gomez, a party official, to an unnamed U. S. embassy official. This included no more amplification than the assertion that Communists had taken control of the party.

The rest of the list professed to detail the activities of known Communists during the rebellion. The ac-

SURVEY

tivities were certainly rebellious, but presumably no more so than those of non-Communist rebels. Further, there were many discrepancies. Some of those listed were not Communists. Two had been jailed more than a week before the revolt began. Six had not been in the country, and at least four had not been in Santo Domingo.

Intelligence authorities acknowledged some of the errors, but explained these were inevitable because of the haste with which the list had been assembled. Embassy officials pointed out that the list had never been intended for public eyes. Later, in Washington, administration officials said the list had been released only after insistent pressure from the press. All groups said that essentially the list had been correct about Communist involvement in the revolt.

Nonetheless, most officials readily acknowledged that the errors had badly damaged the credibility of the entire list. This in turn opened the door for critics to charge that the U. S. had acted on the basis of unverified information.

Weeks later, the administration was still concerned about the sanctity of its list. A new one was compiled, based on added intelligence. This list totaled seventy-seven names. It was released on June 12 but only on a selective basis. There was no official publication because, according to a state department spokesman, the administration did not want "to start a new numbers game."

If the debate over Communist involvement had been the only issue between the government and the press, perhaps it would not have reached the bitter proportions it did. However, there were other questions of fact. Time and again the government spokesmen denied things that the reporters had seen.

Most of these outside incidents can be lumped under the question of whether or not the U. S. was neutral in its intervention. The official spokesmen, both political and military, said it was. Against this were the personal observations of scores of reporters, and much evidence dramatically captured by television cameras.

¶ Officials denied that rebel prisoners were being turned over to the junta. Reporters saw it happen. Officials later agreed some had been turned over, but said this would stop. Reporters saw more turned over. ¶ Officials denied that they were allowing armed Dominicans from either side through the U. S. lines.

Reporters saw truckloads of armed junta troops go-through, notably when the junta embarked on a campaign on May 15 to wipe out rebels in the area north of the corridor.

¶ Officials denied that there was any joint command with the junta. Reporters saw joint commands at San Isidro airport.

¶ Officials denied that there were jointly manned checkpoints searching for weapons. Reporters saw these checkpoints.

Many of the disputes in this list may be honestly attributable to the fact that no one can write an advance script for a crisis. Without question, the difficulties in communication, both with the troops in the field and with the policy-makers in Washington, made full knowledge difficult for U. S. spokesmen.

But too many times it seemed that U. S. spokesmen, from the highest level down, were mistaken or misleading deliberately rather than accidentally.

Too many times there seemed to be a determined, even aggressive, effort to give reporters incorrect, exaggerated, or half-true information. The cover story and the cover-up became standard weapons.

It is this cavalier attitude towards the truth that is most worrisome in the long-run relationship between the government and its public. Once truth becomes a casualty, one can only wonder how and when it will recover.

MARTIN GOODMAN

Perfect match: TV and space

By EDWIN DIAMOND

When headlines refer to the "space race," surely they don't mean the competition between the United States and the Soviet Union. The real antagonists are the American Broadcasting Company, the Columbia Broadcasting System, and the National Broadcasting Company.

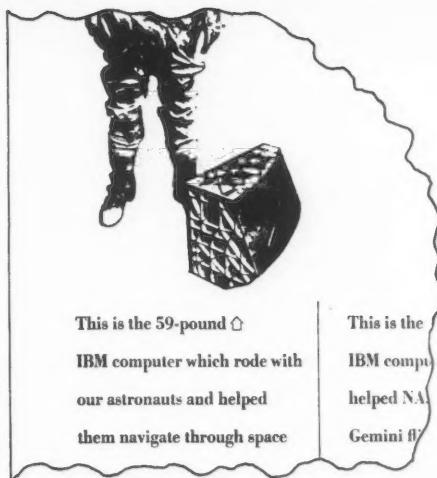
The Gemini 4 flight (June 3-7) was the most recent leg of the network race. In the days preceding the launching, full-page newspaper advertisements touted the spectacular achievements the American public could expect: NBC promised the first telecast of a launching in color, with Chet Huntley and David Brinkley at the controls; ABC trumpeted expert commentary by Jules Bergman, "the reporter

who has done everything that the astronauts have except orbit," and CBS boasted of its special simulation room, complete with spacesuited engineer, who would depict astronaut White's spacewalk as it actually took place. Altogether, NBC had 200 reporters, directors, producers, technicians, secretaries, assistants, and cameramen distributed between the launching site at Cape Kennedy and the Mission Control Center in Houston, and CBS had about 150 staffers.

On the day of the launching, the three networks stayed with the story continuously from 7 a.m. EST through a long hold to well past White's space walk at the end of the second orbit late in the afternoon—and all came back that night with specials. During the long week end of the four-day flight, there were at least 200 live network pickups from Mission Control in Houston or other location. For the splashdown Monday afternoon, the three networks again interrupted their regular daytime schedules for continuous coverage.

Nor did the coverage end with the flight. ABC, NBC, and CBS were back Monday night with specials and the next day—as soon as the extraordinary film of White's exploit was made available—all three again interrupted regular programming twice to show the footage in black and white and, later in the day, in color. Counting re-runs of the film on Wednesday, other new film on Thursday, and finally, the astronauts's return, their reunion with their families on Friday, and a two-hour news conference from Houston, the three television networks devoted an average of 25 hours and 30 minutes each (or one full day of telecasting) to the Gemini 4 flight in eight days.

The total cost of the news coverage has been put at \$4,250,000 for the three networks, and from the viewers's vantage point the money was well spent. CBS's Walter Cronkite did the best job; he was a warm and knowing anchorman who managed to convey a sense of the intricacies of the flight without losing the drama. Covering their first manned launching, Huntley and Brinkley were not in control of their material. Bergman, covering his eighth, lacked presence. Cronkite had tangible virtues: he was the first commentator to grasp the significance of McDivitt's extravagant use of fuel chasing the Titan booster during the first orbit. And CBS also made effective use of its simulation film while White's voice crackled back live from open space. NBC and ABC, on the other hand, used a static background with a map and a painted capsule—in reality, audio with a still picture. Indeed, the viewer was served as well in many phases of the flight by radio, notably NBC's Peter Hackes and CBS's George Herman.



This is the 59-pound ◊
IBM computer which rode with
our astronauts and helped
them navigate through space

This is the
IBM compu
helped NA
Gemini fl

IBM, which scheduled an ad (above) for morning newspapers of June 7, was unable to withdraw it from many papers when the news became embarrassing (below)

Times.

LATE CITY EDITION

U. S. Weather Bureau Report (Page 13) Forecast:
Bunny and hot today; fair tonight.
Hot, chance of showers tomorrow.
Temp. range: 90-62; yesterday: 82-58.

TEN CENTS

GEMINI TO RETURN TODAY; FAILURE OF ITS COMPUTER MAY ALTER RE-ENTRY PLAN

There were some fluffs. The unprecedented scope of a four-day mission controlled from two separate geographic points meant that many more newsmen than usual were on camera—and some of them, drafted from political or local beats, had not done their homework. In one case, a television newsmen unruffledly put the Gemini 4 at an orbital altitude of only 75 miles—the makings of a catastrophe. He had failed to convert nautical miles into statute miles.

But beyond minor errors of fact was a more grievous shortcoming. The manned space flight program of the United States provides television with an opportunity to convey an enormous amount of popular science to a mass audience, to inform as well as to divert the viewer. The ability to understand the mathematics of orbital mechanics is only one small

Edwin Diamond, a senior editor at Newsweek, is the author of The Rise and Fall of the Space Age.

SURVEY

part of the space program that requires elaboration for the audience. A mission like McDivitt's and White's encompasses a cram course in science—the medical and physiological effects of space flight on the human body, the physics of the near space environment around earth, the principles of radio communication and of computer technology, the chemistry of gases and liquids. But the television coverage of the Gemini flights, and of the Mercury flights before them, did not so much explain the principles of Newton and Kepler as list them. Commentators dwelled familiarly on all the Rube Goldberg variations of hardware (“... at 100,000 feet, the hand-operated, ratchet-type locking handle and canister are automatically jettisoned and the titanium, honeycomb, crushable ionospheric heat sink deployed to the on position...””) but it is a rare treat indeed to get a clear and concise explanation of the principles involved—for example, in McDivitt's unsuccessful chase of his booster.

Radio-television journalism still seems about a generation behind the newspapers and magazines in science reporting. It still depends too much on cliché and the “oh-its-all-too-complex-for-you-and-me” style of popular science writing of old (a nucleic acid isn't just called deoxyribonucleic acid; it must have “the jaw-breaking name of...”).

These are, on the whole, minor complaints. The truth is, space and television, subject and medium, are ideally suited to each other. It is a marriage made in heaven. Television can bring, live into the home, all the slowly orchestrated drama of the countdown, letting us vicariously accompany the astronauts as they suit up, get their weather briefings, move to the launching pad and up the elevator to the spacecraft. We are with Henry V as he stands near the camp fires on the eve of Agincourt, with the Giants as they leave the locker room to face the Packers, with Lindbergh taxiing down Roosevelt Field. We are witnesses when the engine flames to life and two men lie atop tons of volatile fuel, with success or failure, life or death, balanced on the bright tongue of thrust.

According to television critics, once the rocket is out of sight, the story no longer belongs to television and radio; the written report can serve just as well. This is a shortsighted view. The moment the rocket goes out of sight is precisely when television can let

its imagination soar along with the spacecraft—first of all, because space flights are executed on such a grand scale that only television is pre-eminently able to bring the breaking story together, skipping from launching site, to control center, to tracking station to White House, to astronauts' homes. More important, space is 3-D, and any writer who has ever attempted to discuss many of the really fascinating aspects of flight knows the frustration of not being able to go along with his copy and demonstrate by using his hands. This is no problem for television, which can present with visual aids, charts, and animations what is going on, in a lunar transfer orbit or a rendezvous and docking mission. Literally, the sky is no longer the limit to what can be done on television to explain and elaborate an unfolding news event.

By and large, the networks have moved quickly to assert television's advantages in space coverage. And from now through 1969, NASA promises about one major manned flight every three to six months. Already, the networks are reconsidering their rabid—and expensive—competition. For example, NBC's sophomoric formula for staying on the air with a story—“CBS plus 30 minutes”—was junked on Gemini 4. The networks are also talking about pooling arrangements for Gemini 5; one possibility would be a “pool relay plane” near the recovery area that could beam live shots of the splashdown to ground stations over the curve of the horizon. All three networks would receive the same picture and then use their own commentators for “voice-over” coverage.

The future of television in space seems set. But for non-electronic journalists the prospects are less bright. As a new endeavor, the space program has no traditional loyalties, especially to anything as quaintly old-fashioned as the written word. In Florida or in Houston at the Control Center, *The New York Times*, the *New York Herald Tribune*, *The Washington Post*, the *Chicago Tribune*, the *Los Angeles Times*, even the wire services, seem to be far-off and unimportant voices. The medium that counts is television and the newsmen who are well known at the astronauts' training quarters and the blockhouses are not the traditional kingmakers from the *Times* or *Trib* but the men with mikes and the cameras.

The top science writers, of course, come in handy for television; the Ubells, the Hines's, the Sullivans, ask the best questions at the news conferences. If television's takeover of space continues, the pencil and paper reporters will find themselves more and more serving as camera talent. Like T. S. Eliot's J. Alfred Prufrock they then can say:

I... am an attendant lord, one that will do
To swell a progress, start a scene or two...

A trade magazine that hit hard

By THEODORE PETERSON

When critics snipe at trade and technical magazines, a common target is the infrequency with which they expose faulty conditions in the industries they serve. "If we tried to do the kind of hard-hitting editorial job we should do, I'm afraid we couldn't stay in business," one editor remarked in a survey conducted early last year by the Society of Business Magazine Editors. And nearly half of the editors responding to the questionnaire said that advertising or business considerations had some influence on their planning of editorial coverage.

Yet when a businesspaper editor dares to go in for hard-hitting journalism, he may throw a heavier weight than his comparatively small circulation suggests. Carroll W. Boyce is editor of *Fleet Owner*, a monthly for people who manage, operate and maintain fleets of motor vehicles, and his circulation is less than 50,000.

For some time he had become increasingly concerned about the extent to which truck drivers were using amphetamines — "stay-awake pills," sometimes called "bennies." Then one day in Washington, he discovered that his concern was shared by William K. Byrd, assistant chief of the section on motor carrier safety in the Interstate Commerce Commission. Byrd was convinced that the widespread use of the drugs by truck drivers had become a major problem of highway safety. He mentioned the frequency with which the drug was turned up on drivers stopped by ICC roadblocks, and he described specific accidents in which the drugs had been implicated.

There was, for instance, the accident that Food and Drug Commissioner George P. Larrick was later to describe to a Senate subcommittee in these words:

On July 19, 1963, an automobile carrying an Air Force sergeant, his wife, his six-year-old



son, and eight-year-old daughter approached a check-point established by a Highway Commission traffic survey near Tipton, Iowa. The automobile pulled to a stop behind a truck. A few moments later a tractor-trailer crashed into the rear of the automobile and drove it under the truck in front where it burst into flames. All members of the family in the automobile were mangled and charred beyond recognition. The driver of the tractor-trailer was not injured. Three bottles of amphetamine drugs were found in his suitcase in the cab of the truck. Although he initially denied knowledge of their source and denied that they were his, he later admitted purchasing and using the drugs during the trip. Blood tests proved that he was under the influence of amphetamines at the time of the accident.

Back in his office in the McGraw-Hill Building in New York, Boyce talked over the story with his staff, which was eager to go ahead with it. Bernie Swart, associate editor, even produced a fat file of information that he had been independently collecting on the subject.

When Swart was turned loose on the story, he found many sources unwilling to talk. Some, with good intentions, advised him to drop the story because it was too hot to handle. But he kept digging and, with help from a half-dozen other members of the company's staff, accumulated a mass of facts and incidents from all over the nation that put the amphetamine traffic in its full and ugly dimensions.

Swart's article was spread over sixteen pages of *Fleet Owner* for May, 1964, under the title "Drugs . . . the Deadly Highway Menace." Among other things, it reported that the illegal sale of amphetamines amounts to between \$200,000,000 and \$400,000,000 a year, that an estimated 90 per cent of the distribution is to or through truck drivers, that federal laws are inadequate to cope with the problem, and that the efforts of the Food and Drug

Administration by its own admission have been ineffectual. Along with its comprehensive statistics, the article told of several such incidents as these two:

One truck driver was chased by police cars through Pennsylvania and New Jersey before he was stopped. He admitted to having taken 60 amphetamine pills within a few hours to stay awake.

A truck driver was arrested for having sold 6,000 amphetamine pills to three teenagers in a northern Illinois town over a four-month period. He admitted to having sold 20,000 more in another Illinois town.

Responses to the article were immediate and numerous. The piece brought favorable comment from the White House, the ICC, the Food and Drug Administration, the Private Truck Council of America, a manufacturer of amphetamines, and some other motor carriers themselves. On May 10, Byrd of the ICC, holding a copy of the article, announced that the Commission would issue a regulation which would ground and permit the immediate dismissal of any interstate driver found with dangerous drugs in his possession.

"But the most important result," the editor of *Fleet Owner* said recently, "was the chain of events triggered by the public interest and private resentment that the article caused."

Even before the article appeared in print, attempts were made to have it killed. When CBS became interested in basing a television documentary on it, some sources in the trucking industry advised the network that the article was full of inaccuracies. Instead of dropping the idea, the network conducted an investigation of its own.

Jay McMullen, heading a special CBS investigative unit, ordered 250 letterheads describing himself as a drug wholesaler and mailed inquiries to two dozen pharmaceutical companies. By the time he concluded his investigation, he had been in touch with fifty-one companies, had placed orders with nineteen, and had received deliveries on 47 per cent of orders from concerns in eight states. Altogether, his filled orders totaled 1,075,000 pills, which cost him \$600.28 and which he estimated would have brought him between \$250,000 and \$500,000 on the illegal market.

Some of those who resented the *Fleet Owner* article hoped to have it discredited last summer in public hearings on the Dodd Drug Control Bill — S. 2628 — on which no action had been taken in the 19 months since its introduction. In his testimony, however, Food and Drug Commissioner Larick called the article "one of the better educational pieces that has appeared on the subject" and asked

that it be included in the record of the hearings. He supported its contentions that illegal traffic in amphetamines had developed along truck routes, that drivers were using the pills so they could work for longer periods or make more trips each week, and that their use had become a serious menace. He also told of the difficulties that his men were having in dealing with the problem:

"Inspectors who engage in undercover work often put their lives in jeopardy because hardened criminals are taking over these rackets. Our agents have been informed repeatedly by drug bootleggers that the latter would kill them if they turned out to be Government men. On July 4, 1963, one of our inspectors posing as a drug peddler from the midwest was held at gunpoint in Los Angeles for over five hours by an amphetamine distributor who repeatedly threatened to kill him, was himself a heavy user of amphetamines, and has a criminal record five pages long."

Moreover, evidence that was introduced into the hearings with the intention of discrediting the *Fleet Owner* article seriously misrepresented the position of the chairman of the ICC. When the *Fleet Owner* staff told him of the misrepresentation, he arranged for the hearings to be reopened and put his full testimony on record. It mentioned Swart's article favorably and supported its general charges.

Within a month after that, the Senate passed a bill aimed at regulating the sale of amphetamines and barbiturates, although it died with the Congress for lack of House action. However, a strengthened bill was introduced in the present session with the support of President Johnson. On March 11, 1965, the House passed it 402 to 0, and Senate approval seems certain.

No one at *Fleet Owner* presumes to take full credit. After all, Congress had been considering regulations on the sale of barbiturates since 1951, and various government officials had been pushing for legislation controlling the distribution of amphetamines before the article appeared. The trucking industry itself had been trying to educate drivers in the dangers of the drugs. But the staff does feel that its timely, thoroughly documented study had a lot to do with what has happened since.

Theodore Peterson, dean of the College of Journalism and Communications, University of Illinois, wrote *Magazines in the Twentieth Century*.

Local radio: all-news sound

Professional observers in three cities present their reactions to hearing stations that have converted to all-news formats.

WINS, New York. Licensee: Westinghouse Broadcasting Company.

With a cacophony of bells, sirens, whistles, and gongs, roughly twenty radio stations through the years have been merchandizing news to New Yorkers on-the-hour, on-the-half-hour, and five-minutes-before-the-hour, but comparatively seldom on-the-spot and hardly ever in more than retail quantities. It remained for a wholesaler to invade the market.

Station WINS, a renovated echo-chamber of rock 'n' roll, is now purveying news not merely some of the time, but around the clock, with the old, reliable clack-clack-clack of the teletype machines for aural realism and some appropriately jangling musical sound effects for a change of decibels.

With conveyor-belt regularity, a fresh "anchor man" is deposited at the microphone every half hour to deliver the news with relentless urgency, pausing only for an occasional glance at the clock, or a peek at the weather or a few professionally moving sentiments on behalf of a sponsor's wares.

Blended with the grist of the wire-service mills are frequent tape-recorded spot reports from the station's local staff and the foreign and domestic correspondents of Westinghouse Broadcasting's "Group W" chain, of which WINS is an outlet.

A patient listener may even chance upon an editorial sortie by general manager Joel W. Chaseman (to cut the World's Fair fare, for instance, or keep the recirculating fountains gushing during the city's water crisis). Betimes, brief commentaries turn up from economist Eliot Janeway and editor Erwin Canham, overseeing national affairs, or correspondent Rod MacLeish, surveying the world from London.

With continuous news in half-hour helpings, WINS unquestionably (if not unavoidably) is offering a more generous sampling of headline-caliber stories

than its bulletin-pushing rivals. But the story-by-story details are not sufficiently greater, for the most part, to be significantly more enlightening. The on-the-scene taped reports may at times be livelier, but not necessarily more informative, than a skillful newsroom rehash of a situation.

The listener to "all news" WINS need not linger long before making the disenchanting discovery that the news is being shuffled and reshuffled half-hour by half-hour. But the basic ingredients remain defiantly and, in time, depressingly familiar. To keep him from straying during a sponsor jingle, or one of the station's numerous promotional blurbs, the bait of a few breathless headlines with details to follow, or the hint of a new weather forecast or the promise of an updated sports scoreboard is dangled in the air.

Depending on where the minute hand is, a sampling of the top stories may be more conveniently available with a flick of the dial to one of the rival hourly or half-hourly headline summaries. In the absence of story depth and some semblance of order, WINS cannot be regarded as an oasis on the informational radio desert. Faithful to the tradition of the audio medium, "all-news" radio remains chock full of nutshells.

BOB WILLIAMS
Television columnist
New York Post

WNUS, Chicago. Licensee: The McLendon Corporation.

"To the extent that an all-news station is monotonous, it will succeed. To the extent that it is not, it will fail." This dogma was laid down by Gordon B. McLendon, owner of WNUS Chicago and five other (conventional) stations in Houston, Dallas, San Antonio, San Francisco, and Buffalo. The fifteen newsmen working at WNUS are slavishly obedient to this dictum but its truth is debatable. After what McLendon called "electrifying" early losses the station is just about to break even for the first time in its nine-month history. It now broadcasts on both AM and FM. Ratings place it above halfway in the Chicago area's fourteen AM and seventeen FM stations. For McLendon, I am sure, this is the only relevant yardstick of success, but a Chicago listener seeking better news information than he is getting from the other stations must have legitimate doubts about the success of McLendon's approach.

His station puts out ninety-six fifteen-minute newscasts each day round-the-clock. Each newscast contains about twenty-five different items covering the

whole spectrum of world, national, and local news. There are no features, no celebrity interviews, no news analyses. McLendon himself occasionally broadcasts an editorial of local relevance and "guest editorials" are reproduced from leading U.S. newspapers. Otherwise the news comes as straight as the twelve news wires used by WNUS can make it.

The wire-service reports are taken straight from the teleprinter and the newsmen are expressly forbidden to rewrite. The station has just one outside reporter and no mobile news unit — McLendon says he would "fire anyone, not for doing mobile news, but for even suggesting that we think about it."

The cumulative effect of this is just what the boss asked for — unadulterated monotony. The presentation and style are monumentally dull. The fifteen-minute segments are rehashed and updated constantly by changing from one wire service to the other if there has been no new development unless one version is obviously superior or exclusive, by adding or substituting new events and developments as they appear, by varying the order of the items and by rotating the news readers for each segment. The station's listener surveys claim that average listening time is twenty-eight minutes, which shows amazing indulgence on the part of the listeners, since all these efforts at variation are minimal in impact.

One big drawback for the news-minded listener is the rigidity of the fifteen-minute format, which prevents WNUS from competing seriously with other Chicago stations when it comes to live coverage of top events. This was typified by coverage of the parade of astronauts McDivitt and White through Chicago on June 14. While rival stations were broadcasting excited and occasionally exciting live descriptions of the motorcade's progress through the city, WNUS plodded on with a couple of sentences devoted to the astronauts, followed by relatively unimportant international news and local items. There is no way of checking but it is my bet that anyone who had not been aware of a major event like this parade and dutifully switched on WNUS to find out what was happening would have then immediately switched to another station to find out what it was really all about. One of the newsmen at WNUS said the format had not once been varied and he could only imagine it being changed for a world-shaking event of the caliber of a President's assassination.

This inflexibility has also been the occasion of two WNUS errors, similarly connected with McDivitt and White. Television and other radio stations had already announced well in advance that there had been an unexpected delay in Gemini 4's 10 a.m. EDT blast-off schedule when WNUS came on the air at 9.

(10 a.m. EDT) with a pre-recorded piece from Houston talking about everything being set for the scheduled blast-off, with no mention of the delay until the next newscast. It followed this up by continuing to talk of White's expected contact with the spaceship's booster at least half an hour after wire services and television had announced that the idea had been abandoned. This again was the result of using a pre-recorded piece from UPI's audio service.

McLendon reasons that an all-news station should be "a service, like the telephone time and weather services." On his terms it is difficult to quibble with what he has achieved with WNUS. It is no more, no less than the telephone time and weather services. But I doubt if he is right in thinking that his returns would not be greater with a brighter, more flexible "service." To get the routine headlines without having to wait for the half-hourly bulletins of the other stations WNUS is certainly adequate, but for the informed listener who wants his up-to-the-minute news to be well presented as well as fast, WNUS has not yet filled the gap.

McLendon adds, "Don't try to do the all-news format too well." While there are commercially obvious reasons for saying this in the short run, he may yet find that listeners really do want something good. At any rate it is hard to reconcile McLendon's attitude and achievement with the announcer's claim that WNUS is "where history is recorded every 15 minutes."

JACK ALTMAN
Time-Life correspondent
Chicago

X-TRA. Broadcasting over 50,000-watt transmitter in Tijuana, Mexico. Owners: Radiodifusora del Pacifico. American sales by McLendon Corporation.

Southern California has its continuous news beamed in from the same place where many of its residents get their first glimpse of and bargains from Mexico — the Lower California border town of Tijuana. And like the town itself and its output of pots, serapes, and gimcracks, X-TRA's journalistic product is novel and, on closer inspection, shoddy.

The station conceals its "Made in Mexico" label artfully, however. A female announcer articulates the call letters and "Tijuana, Mexico" in seductive tones at appropriate intervals, and is followed by a burst of South-of-the-Border mood music and a spot announcement rhapsodizing over the glories of some Mexican tourist spot. The station's all-too-frequent blurbs for itself refer only to its business

office in a Los Angeles skyscraper. Thus certainly only a minority of the sizable listening audience of the station are aware of the origin of their hot-off-the-wires news.

What this audience hears is a deadening series of repeated fifteen-minute newscasts with four commercial spots each. (Many of the ads have musical backgrounds; the advertisers seem to know that listeners tire of talk, talk, talk.) Each newscast follows a format of national and international news, state and local, and sports and weather.

In-depth reporting is obviously out in such a compressed schedule. A sentence or two of each story is read without any rewrite off the station's news sources: the UPI "A" and radio wires, AP wires, and the Los Angeles City News Service. Particularly maddening can be the announcers' propensity for unabashed fluffs in pronunciation of names and polysyllabic words.

Once an hour, a "guest editorial" culled from a newspaper is inserted. No particular editorial viewpoint is evident, but much of the special material and news selection seems to carry some right-wing coloration. Recent examples of this were lengthy taped inserts covering testimony in favor of retaining "right-to-work" statutes given almost no play by local papers, and sensational coverage of a Congo "massacre" that got two paragraphs on an inside page in the next morning's newspaper.

With all its flaws, X-TRA is a distinctive service to Angelenos. They ride to and from work in their own cars, not public transportation, and thus get their news from radio, not newsstand editions. And since one cannot always arrange to be in the car on the exact hour to catch the far superior network and local newscasts, a quick rundown of the news on X-TRA is better than rock-'n'-roll. Its own audience surveys have shown 6-10 a.m. to be the peak listening hours. Few other stations have extensive news operations during the morning. On the other hand, X-TRA's listening level is lower between 4 and 7 p.m., when other stations go into their full-blown, detailed news coverage.

ANNE STERN BERKOVITZ
Los Angeles

EDITOR'S NOTE: A fourth all-news operation was announced in June, when the Westinghouse Broadcasting Company (owner of WINS) revealed plans to convert its Philadelphia outlet in August. The change will end the station's affiliation with the National Broadcasting Company's radio network.

ARRIVALS AND DEPARTURES

Arrived: Instant transatlantic television at any time, via an eighty-five pound, drum-shaped satellite called Early Bird. Its first television use, on May 2, was in a pooled international program of entertainment and information. The offering was reminiscent of the melange that introduced Early Bird's ancestor, Telstar, in 1962. Part of it was educational (a heart operation by Dr. Michael DeBakey in Houston) and part vaudeville (five bands—in London, Paris, Essen, Washington, and Quebec—playing the same tune almost together). The program was at least a signal that Early Bird could usher in a new era in television "actuality" programming, for this single satellite made it possible for the inhabitants of a third of the earth's surface to see events in that area at any time and for any length of time. (Telstar could be used only during its passes over the Atlantic; Early Bird's orbit keeps it hovering permanently over one spot.) Two more such satellites could make possible worldwide instantaneous television.

For the television industry in the United States, Early Bird opened up new possibilities in international news coverage, and—to the dismay of its developer, the semi-public Communications Satellite Corporation (Comsat) — potential domestic uses. (Comsat had been granted a monopoly of indefinite extent by Congress.) The American Broadcasting Company, the Radio Corporation of America, and United Press International all began to talk about their own satellites. Leonard H. Golden-son, president of ABC, informed the Federal Communications Commission that ABC planned a domestic satellite to serve the commercial television networks and educational television by transmitting programs to affiliated stations. David Sarnoff of RCA forecast a more radical idea—the direct transmission into homes of satellite-relayed signals.

Meanwhile, the predictions of news users of Early Bird, bullish at first, became steadily gloomier. One of the early comments came from Av Westin of CBS, pool producer for the first Early Bird show. He said that "with Early Bird the networks will switch from New York to London or to Paris or Rome as casually as we now switch from New York to Los Angeles or Chicago. All the networks are geared up, expanding their overseas news bureaus."

During the first weeks of operation, which had

experimental free-use days for television, many news and information programs took their turn at trying out Early Bird. Huntley-Brinkley broadcast from London and Washington, respectively. CBS revived an old international discussion format in "Town Meeting of the World." A Welsh mine disaster was picked up from British television, and there were other more or less routine uses, such as sports on ABC.

But the networks' enthusiasm dimmed considerably with the approach of the end of "free Mondays" in June. On May 28, Comsat filed a schedule of rates for the several uses of the satellite. The proposed charge for an hour of black-and-white television would range from \$3,350 to \$5,245, depending on the time of day. In effect, this charge would carry the signal halfway, because Comsat's European partners would also charge fees of similar scope for use of ground stations. After a number of half-public expressions of dismay, CBS announced on June 16 that it was abandoning for the time being the idea of using Early Bird for routine news work. A day later, the three major networks filed petitions with the FCC asking the commission to

suspend the Comsat tariffs and to hold hearings. The satellite revolution in news was deferred.

Departed: One month after its arrival, *U. S. Consumer*, an adless tabloid guide for buyers (noted in the spring issue). A sample edition distributed in March carried an optimistic message from Esther Peterson, President Johnson's special assistant for consumer affairs. On April 29, Arthur E. Rowse, the publisher, returned all subscription checks and money orders with a letter announcing that *U. S. Consumer* lacked the necessary financial backing. On May 24, Mrs. Peterson announced that Rowse had been appointed staff director of the President's Committee on Consumer Interests.

Closed: After an erratic run of four years, *Show* magazine, with its May issue. In January, American Theater Press, publishers of *Playbill* theater programs, bought *Show* from Huntington Hartford, who had reportedly lost \$7,500,000 on the magazine. Gilman Kraft, president of American Theatre Press, said that *Show* had lost \$300,000 more since January.

Anthology of fault-finding: III

Here is another selection from newspaper bulletins issued for the betterment of the language.

From Winners & Sinners (The New York Times): *The unhappy media.* "Miss Adams has previously promoted Muriels on television and in periodicals, it was said, but not in mass media" . . . How much more mass can you get than television?

Odd attire. "He methodically capped the baby oil, washed his face and then leaned against the dressing room wall, unadorned except for a Picasso drawing."

The Fascist pun in the west. The head was neither a winner nor a sinner, but the comment of a contributor was comic. The head: "Queen and Duchess of Windsor Will Meet at Ill Duke's Bedside." . . . The Comment: "Hey, I tought Mussolini wuz dead."

Eh? "'Were it left to me,' Thomas Jefferson once said, 'to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers, or newspapers without government, I should not hesitate to prefer the latter.' Fortunately we got both . . ."

Tips and Slips (Cleveland Press)

. . . not nailed on any desk: Nun and Marine are only inhabitants of Japanese-infested Pacific island.

By accident or on purpose, these were eye-catching heads:

Greet Holiday Guests With a Hearty Punch
Birth Control Program Needed at Early Stage

Hits & Misses (Wilmington News and Journal)

A recent letter to the editor took a reporter to task for referring to the members of Miss Delaware's court as "courtesans."

Post Script (The Washington Post)

Felicitations and all that to Gerald Grant, who did an entire story . . . on reading methods without once invoking Johnny and his confounded illiteracy.

"But Johnson's moderate supporters note hopefully that he has since been silent, obviously trying to avoid inflammatory statements" . . . A collector's item, illustrating one of the few correct uses of *hopefully* that has appeared in our pages in several months. N.B.: The word correctly means *in a hopeful way*, not, as often misused, *it is hoped*.

SECOND READING

When Edward R. Murrow died on April 27, most of his legacy lay in his achievements in radio and television news and documentaries. But he also had deep convictions about the destiny of the broadcast medium, and on October 15, 1958 — not long after his network had dropped *See It Now*, and just as the quiz-program scandals were breaking over the television industry — he set forth his doubts and fears about the future of television. The occasion was the convention in Chicago of the Radio-Television News Directors Association. The bitterness and directness of the address struck sparks, and it was disavowed by the Columbia Broadcasting System.

The full text of that speech has not been printed before. It is offered here for its pertinence and as a measure of television's changes in the seven years since. (The text was supplied by the RTNDA, which will publish the speech in a collection of notable broadcasting statements later in 1965).

Murrow's indictment of broadcasting

This just might do nobody any good. At the end of this discourse, a few people may accuse this reporter of fouling his own comfortable nest; and your organization may be accused of having given hospitality to heretical and even dangerous thoughts.

But the elaborate structure of networks, advertising agencies and sponsors will not be shaken or altered. It is my desire if not my duty to try to talk to you journeymen with some candor about what is happening to radio and television in this generous and capacious land.

I have no technical advice or counsel to offer those of you who labor in this vineyard that produces words and pictures. You will forgive me for not telling you that the instruments with which you work are miraculous; that your responsibility is unprecedented; or that your aspirations are frequently frustrated. It is not necessary to remind you of the fact that your voice is amplified to the degree where it reaches from one end of the country to the other does not confer upon you greater wisdom or understanding than you possessed when your voice reached only from one end of the bar to the other. All of these things you know.

You should also know at the outset that, in the

manner of witnesses before Congressional Committees, I appear here voluntarily — by invitation — that I am an employee of the Columbia Broadcasting System — that I am neither an officer nor a director of that Corporation — and that these remarks are of a “do-it-yourself” nature. If what I have to say is responsible, then I alone am responsible for the saying of it. Seeking neither approbation from my employers, nor new sponsors, nor acclaim from the critics of radio and television, I cannot well be disappointed. Believing that potentially the commercial system of broadcasting as practised in this country is the best and freest yet devised, I have decided to express my concern about what I believe to be happening to radio and television. These instruments have been good to me beyond my due. There exists in my mind no reasonable grounds for personal complaint. I have no feud, either with my employers, any sponsors, or with the professional critics of radio and television. But I am seized with an abiding fear regarding what these two instruments are doing to our society, our culture, and our heritage.

Our history will be what we make it. And if there are any historians about fifty or a hundred years from now, and there should be preserved the kinescopes

SECOND READING

for one week of all three networks, they will there find recorded in black-and-white, or color, evidence of decadence, escapism, and insulation from the realities of the world in which we live. I invite your attention to the television schedules of all networks between the hours of eight and eleven p.m. Eastern Time. Here you will find only fleeting and spasmodic reference to the fact that this nation is in mortal danger. There are, it is true, occasional informative programs presented in that intellectual ghetto on Sunday afternoons. But during the daily peak viewing periods, television in the main insulates us from the realities of the world in which we live. If this state of affairs continues, we may alter an advertising slogan to read: "Look Now, Pay Later." For surely we shall pay for using this most powerful instrument of communication to insulate the citizenry from the hard and demanding realities which must be faced if we are to survive. I mean the word — survive — literally. If there were to be a competition in indifference, or perhaps in insulation from reality, then Nero and his fiddle, Chamberlain and his umbrella, could not find a place on an early-afternoon sustaining show. If Hollywood were to run out of Indians, the program schedules would be mangled beyond all recognition. Then, some courageous soul with a small budget might be able to do a documentary telling what, in fact, we have done — and are still doing — to the Indians in this country. But that would be unpleasant. And we must at all costs shield the sensitive citizens from anything that is unpleasant.

I am entirely persuaded that the American public is more reasonable, restrained, and more mature than most of our industry's program planners believe. Their fear of controversy is not warranted by the evidence. I have reason to know, as do many of you, that when the evidence on a controversial subject is fairly and calmly presented, the public recognizes it for what it is — an effort to illuminate rather than to agitate.

Several years ago, when we undertook to do a program on Egypt and Israel, well-meaning, experienced, and intelligent friends shook their heads and said: "This you cannot do — you will be handed your head — it is an emotion-packed controversy, and there is no room for reason in it." We did the program. Zionists, anti-Zionists, the friends of the Middle East, Egyptian and Israeli officials said, with

a faint note of surprise: "It was a fair count. The information was there. We have no complaints."

Our experience was similar with two half-hour programs dealing with cigarette smoking and lung cancer. Both the medical profession and the tobacco industry co-operated in a rather wary fashion. But in the end of the day they were both reasonably content. The subject of radioactive fallout and the banning of nuclear tests was and is highly controversial. But according to what little evidence there is, viewers were prepared to listen to both sides with reason and restraint. This is not said to claim any special or unusual competence in the presentation of controversial subjects but rather to indicate that timidity in these areas is not warranted — by the evidence.

Recently, network spokesmen have been disposed to complain that the professional critics of television have been "rather beastly." There have been hints that somehow competition for the advertising dollar has caused the critics of print to gang up on television and radio. This reporter has no desire to defend the critics. They have space in which to do that on their own behalf. But it remains a fact that the newspapers and magazines are the only instruments of mass communication which remain free from sustained and regular critical comment. If the network spokesmen are so anguished about what appears in print, let them come forth and engage in a little sustained and regular comment regarding newspapers and magazines. It is an ancient and sad fact that most people in network television, and radio, have an exaggerated regard for what appears in print. And there have been cases where executives have refused to make even private comment on a program for which they were responsible, until they had read the reviews in print. This is hardly an exhibition of confidence.

Their own tradition

The oldest excuse of the networks for their timidity is their youth. Their spokesmen say: "We are young; we have not developed the traditions, nor acquired the experience of the older media." If they but knew it, they are building those traditions, creating those precedents every day. Each time they yield to a voice from Washington or any political pressure, each time they eliminate something that might offend some section of the community, they are creating their own body of precedent and tradition. They are, in fact, not content to be "half safe."

Nowhere is this better illustrated than by the fact that the chairman of the Federal Communications Commission publicly prods broadcasters to engage in their legal right to editorialize. Of course, to undertake an editorial policy, overt and clearly labeled,

and obviously unsponsored, requires a station or a network to be responsible. Most stations today probably do not have the manpower to assume this responsibility, but the manpower could be recruited. Editorials would not be profitable; if they had a cutting edge they might even offend. It is much easier, much less troublesome to use the money-making machine of television and radio merely as a conduit through which to channel anything that is not libelous, obscene or defamatory. In that way one has the illusion of power without responsibility.

It isn't news

So far as radio — that most satisfying and rewarding instrument — is concerned, the diagnosis of its difficulties is rather easy. And obviously I speak only of news and information. In order to progress it need only to go backward to the time when singing commercials were not allowed on news reports, when there was no middle commercial in a fifteen-minute news report; when radio was rather proud, alert, and fast. I recently asked a network official: Why this great rash of five-minute news reports (including three commercials) on week ends? He replied: "Because that seems to be the only thing we can sell."

In this kind of complex and confusing world, you can't tell very much about the *why* of the news in broadcast, where only three minutes is available for news. The only man who could do that was Elmer Davis, and his kind aren't about any more. If radio news is to be regarded as a commodity, only acceptable when saleable, and only when packaged to fit the advertising appropriation of a sponsor, then I don't care what you will call it — I say it isn't news.

My memory also goes back to the time when the fear of a slight reduction in business did not result in an immediate cutback in bodies in the News and Public Affairs Department, at a time when network profits had just reached an all-time high. We would all agree, I think, that whether on a station or a network the stapling machine is a poor substitute for a newsroom typewriter.

One of the minor tragedies of television news and information is that the networks will not even defend their vital interests. When my employer, CBS, through a combination of enterprise and good luck, did an interview with Nikita Khrushchev, the President uttered a few ill-chosen, uninformed words on the subject, and the network practically apologized. This produced a rarity. Many newspapers defended the CBS right to produce the program and commended it for initiative. But the other networks remained silent.

Likewise, when John Foster Dulles, by personal

decree, banned American journalists from going to Communist China, and subsequently offered contradictory explanations. For his fiat the networks entered only a mild protest. Then they apparently forgot the unpleasantness. Can it be that this national industry is content to serve the public interest only with the trickle of news that comes out of Hong Kong? To leave its viewers in ignorance of the cataclysmic changes that are occurring in a nation of six hundred million people? I have no illusions about the difficulties of reporting from a dictatorship; but our British and French allies have been better served — in their public interest — with some very useful information from their reporters in Communist China.

One of the basic troubles with radio and television news is that both instruments have grown up as an incompatible combination of show business, advertising, and news. Each of the three is a rather bizarre and demanding profession. And when you get all three under one roof, the dust never settles. The top management of the networks, with a few notable exceptions, has been trained in advertising, research, sales, or show business. But by the nature of the corporate structure, they also make the final and crucial decisions having to do with news and public affairs. Frequently they have neither the time nor the competence to do this. It is not easy for the same small group of men to decide whether to buy a new station for millions of dollars, build a new building, alter the rate card, buy a new Western, sell a soap opera, decide what defensive line to take in connection with the latest Congressional inquiry, how much money to spend on promoting a new program, what additions or deletions should be made in the existing covey or clutch of vice presidents, and at the same time — frequently on the same long day — to give mature, thoughtful consideration to the manifold problems that confront those who are charged with the responsibility for news and public affairs.

Dollars or duty

Sometimes there is a clash between the public interest and the corporate interest. A telephone call or a letter from the proper quarter in Washington is treated rather more seriously than a communication from an irate but not politically potent viewer. It is tempting enough to give away a little air time for frequently irresponsible and unwarranted utterances, in an effort to temper the wind of criticism.

Upon occasion, economics and editorial judgment are in conflict. And there is no law which says that dollars will be defeated by duty. Not so long ago the President of the United States delivered a television

SECOND READING

address to the nation. He was discoursing on the possibility or probability of war between this nation and the Soviet Union and Communist China — a reasonably compelling subject. Two networks — CBS and NBC — delayed that broadcast for an hour and fifteen minutes. If this decision was dictated by anything other than financial reasons, the networks didn't deign to explain those reasons. That hour-and-fifteen-minute delay, by the way, is about twice the time required for an ICBM to travel from the Soviet Union to major targets in the United States. It is difficult to believe that this decision was made by men who love, respect, and understand news.

So far I have been dealing largely with the deficit side of the ledger, and the items could be expanded. But I have said, and I believe, that potentially we have in this country a free enterprise system of radio and television which is superior to any other. But to achieve its promise, it must be both free and enterprising. There is no suggestion here that networks or individual stations should operate as philanthropies. But I can find nothing in the Bill of Rights or the Communications Act which says that they must increase their net profits each year, lest the republic collapse. I do not suggest that news and information should be subsidized by foundations or private subscriptions. I am aware that the networks have expended, and are expending very considerable sums of money on public affairs programs from which they cannot hope to receive any financial reward. I have had the privilege at CBS of presiding over a considerable number of such programs. I testify, and am able to stand here and say that I have never had a program turned down by my superiors because of the money it would cost.

But we all know that you cannot reach the potential maximum audience in marginal time, with a sustaining program. This is so because so many stations on the network — any network — will decline to carry it. Every licensee who applies for a grant to operate in the public interest, convenience, and necessity, makes certain promises as to what he will do in terms of program content. Many recipients of licenses have, in blunt language, welshed on those promises. The money-making machine somehow blunts their memories.

The only remedy for this is closer inspection and punitive action by the FCC. But in view of many this

would come perilously close to supervision of program content by a Federal agency.

So it seems that we cannot rely on philanthropic support or foundation subsidies, we cannot follow the "sustaining route," the networks cannot pay all the freight, and the FCC cannot or will not discipline those who abuse the facilities that belong to the public.

What, then, is the answer? Do we merely stay in our comfortable nests, concluding that the obligation of these instruments has been discharged when we work at the job of informing the public for a minimum of time? Or do we believe that the preservation of the republic is a seven-day-a-week job, demanding more awareness, better skills, and more perseverance than we have yet contemplated?

I am frightened by the imbalance, the constant striving to reach the largest possible audience for everything; by the absence of a sustained study of the state of the nation. Heywood Broun once said: "No body politic is healthy until it begins to itch." I would like television to produce some itching pills rather than this endless outpouring of tranquilizers. It can be done. Maybe it won't be, but it could. Let us not shoot the wrong piano player. Do not be deluded into believing that the titular heads of the networks control what appears on their networks. They all have better taste. All are responsible to stockholders, and in my experience all are honorable men. But they must schedule what they can sell in the public market.

Corporate image

And this brings us to the nub of the question. In one sense it rather revolves around the phrase heard frequently along Madison Avenue: "The Corporate Image." I am not precisely sure what this phrase means, but I would imagine that it reflects a desire on the part of the corporations who pay the advertising bills, to have the public imagine, or believe, that they are not merely bodies with no souls, panting in pursuit of elusive dollars. They would like us to believe that they can distinguish between the public good and the private or corporate gain. So the question is this: Are the big corporations who pay the freight for radio and television programs wise to use that time *exclusively* for the sale of goods and services? Is it in their own interest and that of the stockholders so to do? The sponsor of an hour's television program is not buying merely the six minutes devoted to his commercial message. He is determining, within broad limits, the sum total of the impact of the entire hour. If he always, invariably, reaches for the largest possible audience then this process of insulation, of

escape from reality, will continue to be massively financed, and its apologists will continue to make winsome speeches about giving the public what it wants, or "letting the public decide."

I refuse to believe that the presidents and chairmen of the boards of these big corporations want their "corporate image" to consist exclusively of a solemn voice in an echo chamber, or a pretty girl opening the door of a refrigerator, or a horse that talks. They want something better, and on occasion some of them have demonstrated it. But most of the men whose legal and moral responsibility it is to spend the stockholders' money for advertising, are removed from the realities of the mass media by five, six, or a dozen contraceptive layers of vice presidents, public relations counsel, and advertising agencies. Their business is to sell goods, and the competition is pretty tough.

A little competition

But this nation is now in competition with malignant forces of evil who are using every instrument at their command to empty the minds of their subjects, and fill those minds with slogans, determination, and faith in the future. If we go on as we are, we are protecting the mind of the American public from any real contact with the menacing world that squeezes in upon us. We are engaged in a great experiment to discover whether a free public opinion can devise and direct methods of managing the affairs of the nation. We may fail. But we are handicapping ourselves.

Let us have a little competition. Not only in selling soap, cigarettes, and automobiles, but in informing a troubled, apprehensive but receptive public. Why should not each of the twenty or thirty big corporations which dominate radio and television, decide that they will give up one or two of their regularly scheduled programs each year, turn the time over to the networks, and say in effect: "This is a tiny tithe, just a little bit of our profits. On this particular night we aren't going to try to sell cigarettes or automobiles; this is merely a gesture to indicate our belief in the importance of ideas." The networks should, and I think would, pay for the cost of producing the program. The advertiser, the sponsor, would get name credit, but would have nothing to do with the content of the program. Would this blemish the corporate image? Would the stockholders object? I think not. For if the premise upon which our pluralistic society rests — which, as I understand it, is that if the people are given sufficient undiluted information, they will then somehow, even after long, sober second thoughts, reach the right decision — if that

premise is wrong, then not only the corporate image but the corporations are done for.

There used to be an old phrase in this country, employed when someone talked too much. It was: "Go hire a hall." Under this proposal the sponsor would have hired the hall; he has bought the time; the local station operator, no matter how indifferent, is going to carry the program — he has to. Then it's up to the networks to fill the hall. I am not here talking about editorializing, but about direct straight-away exposition as direct, unadorned and impartial, as fallible human beings can make it. Just once in a while let us exalt the importance of ideas and information. Let us dream to the extent of saying that on a given Sunday night the time normally occupied by Ed Sullivan is given over to a clinical survey of the state of American education, and a week or two later the time normally used by Steve Allen is devoted to a thoroughgoing study of American policy in the Middle East. Would the corporate image of their respective sponsors be damaged? Would the stockholders rise up in their wrath and complain? Would anything happen other than that a few million people would have received a little illumination on subjects that may well determine the future of this country, and therefore the future of the corporations? This method would also provide real competition between the networks as to which could outdo the others in the palatable presentation of information. It would provide an outlet for the young men of skill, and there are some even of dedication, who would like to do something other than devise methods of insulating while selling.

Wealthy and fat

There may be other and simpler methods of utilizing these instruments of radio and television in the interests of a free society. But I know of none that could be so easily accomplished inside the framework of the existing commercial system. I don't know how you would measure the success or failure of a given program. And it would be hard to prove the magnitude of the benefit accruing to the corporation which gave up one night of a variety or quiz show in order that the network might marshal its skills to do a thoroughgoing job on the present status of NATO, or plans for controlling nuclear tests. But I would reckon that the president, and indeed the majority of shareholders of the corporation who sponsored such a venture would feel a little bit better about the corporation and the country.

It may be that the present system, with no modifications and no experiments, can survive. Perhaps the money-making machine has some kind of built-

SECOND READING

in perpetual motion, but I do not think so. To a very considerable extent the media of mass communications in a given country reflect the political, economic, and social climate in which they flourish. That is the reason ours differ from the British and French, or the Russian and Chinese. We are currently wealthy, fat, comfortable, and complacent. We have currently a built-in allergy to unpleasant or disturbing information. Our mass media reflect this. But unless we get up off our fat surpluses and recognize that television in the main is being used to distract, delude, amuse and insulate us, then television and those who finance it, those who look at it and those who work at it, may see a totally different picture too late.

I do not advocate that we turn television into a twenty-seven-inch wailing wall, where long-hairs constantly moan about the state of our culture and our defense. But I would just like to see it reflect occasionally the hard, unyielding realities of the world in which we live. I would like to see it done inside the existing framework, and I would like to see the doing of it redound to the credit of those who finance and program it. Measure the results by Nielsen, Trendex, or Silex — it doesn't matter, the main thing is to try. The responsibility can be easily placed, in spite of all the mouthings about giving the public what it wants. It rests on big business, and on big television, and it rests at the top. Responsibility is not something that can be assigned or delegated. And it promises its own reward: good business and good television.

Perhaps no one will do anything about it. I have ventured to outline it against a background of criti-

cism that may have been too harsh, only because I could think of nothing better.

Someone once said — I think it was Max Eastman — that: "That publisher serves his advertiser best who best serves his readers." I cannot believe that radio and television, or the corporations that finance the programs, are serving well or truly their viewers or listeners, or themselves. I began by saying that our history will be what we make it. If we go on as we are, then history will not limp in catching up with us.

We are to a large extent an imitative society. If one or two or three corporations would undertake to devote just a small fraction of their advertising appropriation along the lines that I have suggested, the procedure would grow by contagion, the economic burden would be bearable, and their might ensue a most exciting adventure — exposure to ideas, and the bringing of reality into the homes of the nation.

To those who say: People wouldn't look, they wouldn't be interested, they're too complacent, indifferent, and insulated — I can only reply: There is, in one reporter's opinion, considerable evidence against that contention. But even if they are right, what have they got to lose? Because if they are right, and this instrument is good for nothing but to entertain, amuse, and insulate, then the tube is flickering now and we will soon see that the whole struggle is lost.

This instrument can teach, it can illuminate; yes, and it can even inspire. But it can do so only to the extent that humans are determined to use it to those ends. Otherwise it is merely wires and lights in a box. There is a great and perhaps decisive battle to be fought against ignorance, intolerance, and indifference. This weapon of television could be useful.

Stonewall Jackson, who knew something about the use of weapons, is reported to have said: "When war comes, you must draw the sword and throw away the scabbard." The trouble with television is that it is rusting in the scabbard — during a battle for survival.

Corrosion of trust

Tom Pettit, NBC News, in *Montana Journalism Review*, spring, 1965:

... there is good research evidence that people trust the news they get from television more than the news from any other medium. But if that trust should be corroded, we might as well forget everything we learned from Edward R. Murrow, because nobody will pay attention.

That corrosion is beginning. It is as unobtrusive as using newsfilm techniques in commercials where you see the soap salesman arrive in a helicopter and start interviewing people, just as Walter Cronkite does. It is as obvious as the commercial showing a man ostensibly shaving a piece of sandpaper. It is the presentation of a handout newsfilm which displays a certain make of automobile on a dock but purports to show the first ship to make winter passage of the Great Lakes.

PM: an anniversary assessment

A notable experiment in newspaper-making began twenty-five years ago this summer, only to founder eight years later. Here a young scholar—an assistant professor of journalism at the University of Kentucky—analyzes why PM failed.

By LEWIS DONOHEW

An old saw holds that newspapers with advertising can't be honest and newspapers without advertising can't exist. Whatever the merit of that first axiom, a recurring dream in American journalism has been of the second—an adless newspaper, uninhibited by businessmen, including the owner.

Twenty-five years ago this summer the most ambitious of the adless experiments was founded in New York. *PM*¹ was an afternoon tabloid that tried for six years to live without advertising and to develop new definitions and forms for news.

The founder of *PM* was Ralph Ingersoll, who resigned as publisher of *Time* to establish a newspaper that would be "against fraud and deceit and greed and cruelty" and would expose their practitioners; one whose editors did not believe all of mankind's problems were being solved by the existing social order of any country; and one that proposed "to crusade for those who seek constructively to improve the way men live together."

One of the original financial backers of *PM*, and later its only stockholder, was Marshall Field III. In describing *PM*'s approach to the news, he wrote:

... it does not consider its job done when it has retailed press-service dispatches, when it has taken the "facts" as they come in and dished them out at random. What is known as "news" today is usually only a fleeting fragment of a larger whole. It is usually a surface projection of a cluster of difficult issues whose substance and reality are, like an iceberg, nine-tenths hidden below the surface.

Thus *PM* comes to its conception of news with the conviction that the world of economics, politics, and international affairs has become at once so dangerous and so complex

that the ordinary man cannot find his way around in it without warnings and aids. Hence *PM*'s emphasis on "debunking" current "news stories"—"debunking" being journalese for the scalpel dissection of the interested motives which certain power groups may have in propagandizing a given version of the news.

This was the "new kind of news" *PM* sought to offer. There were, however, many opinions on what it delivered.

The idea for *PM* had occurred to Ingersoll in 1923 when New York newspapers put out a combined eight-page morning paper without advertising during a strike. Twelve years later, he set up Publications Research, Inc., which started planning for what was to become *PM*.

By 1939, he was ready to put out trial issues. He had sold, after some tribulations, \$1,500,000 worth of stock to a group whose names, *Time* reported, read "like a list of Dun & Bradstreet's AA ratings." (One of the stockholders was the present chief of the *New York Herald Tribune*, John Hay Whitney.) Ingersoll received a five-year contract as editor that gave him exclusive power to formulate editorial, advertising, circulation, production, and promotion policies. Stockholders were told that the newspaper would be out of the red in the eighth month. The circulation required to break even was estimated at 225,000.

The home of the enterprise was on Dean Street in Brooklyn, up two flights of unplastered stairways on the top floor of a concern that was to do the engraving, typesetting, and stereotyping. The paper acquired the name *PM* from a journal for art directors and production managers.

PM promised to be a new kind of newspaper. A *New York Times* reporter wrote: "It will depart radically from the present-day newspaper and will be styled on the news magazine, with news departmentalized, much of it brief, and with more interpretation and background than is customarily given in the daily newspaper. Politically, it will be independent. In the early stages, no advertising will be

solicited as such, but it will be handled as news as a service to the readers."

The first issue was published June 18, 1940, four days after the Nazis marched into Paris. The paper contained thirty-two tabloid pages, with about half the space filled with pictures. It used United Press, but rewrote the copy. Absent from the paper were such circulation builders as comics, late horse races, stock-market reports, and advice to the lovelorn.

At the beginning, *PM's* crusades were aimed mainly at protecting consumers. The newspaper carried sixty-seven such stories during its first six months. Its first crusade was against "watered meat." *PM* staff members bought meat at markets and took it to a laboratory, where it was found that half of it had more than the legal limit of brine preservative.

Other crusades were directed at the sale of sick poultry, at a secret amendment to the sanitary code that permitted a cheap new air-milk blend to be placed on the market, at installment sales practices, and at used car and sales rackets. *PM* also wrote about political pressures by private employers (it named them) on employees, of "dollar-a-year" men in Washington who looked out for their companies' interests, and of a link between a foreign news service operating in the United States and the German government.

Ingersoll considered objective reporting an unattainable end, and *PM's* stories often reflected this belief. Its headlines, too, left little room for doubt:

**6 Weasel Words
Halt Tax Action**

**Health Department Has Power to Act
But Watered Meat Fraud Continues**

**Here's What Zoning Fuss Is All About:
Landowners Fight for Old Privileges**

**Nation's Big-Industry Concentrations Sped
By Huge Profits on Defense Contract Awards**

This approach to the news, together with *PM's* policy of being "against people who push other people around" led to many stories about evictions, about labor, and about racial and religious bias.

Marshall Field gave *PM's* justification for this kind of coverage:

One might say that *PM* has not fought with equal militancy for the rights and interests of the big corporations and the conservative groups in America. I suspect that that would be an accurate statement. . . . the answer is that *PM* has not considered its function to be that of viewing with equal impartiality both sides of the struggle between the strong and

the weak, the big and small, the monopolists and the independents, the entrenched and those who still have their way to make.

PM's staff was both its greatest asset and its greatest liability. When it started hiring, the newspaper had plenty of people to choose from. *Business Week* reported that more than 11,000 experienced newspaper workers had applied for jobs, and that *PM* gave employment to 151, most of whom left other papers at no increase in salary.

Ingersoll confessed in a prospectus sent to subscribers on *PM's* sixth birthday that he had failed to screen properly the job applicants and as a consequence let in a number of incompetents, Communists, and others who contributed to poor reporting and dissension among staff members.

Hodding Carter of Mississippi, who was press editor of *PM*, later wrote in *Public Opinion Quarterly* that *PM* was pushed around roughly from the start. He said the opposition included the New York newspapers, "such conservative trade journals as *Editor & Publisher*," and skeptical publishers throughout the country. He said much of the opposition was a result of *PM's* attitude toward advertising. *PM's* favorable advance publicity, he wrote, "was matched by a counter-blast of printed criticism ranging from the humorous raillery of the *New Yorker* to a concerted smear campaign in which the liberal and left-wing tendencies of part of *PM's* staff became an object of Red-baiting attack."

The charges of Communist leanings made against *PM* perhaps would have been made by right-wing elements against any liberal newspaper. But they were particularly damaging to *PM* because, the analysts agree, there were a number of Communists on the staff.

PM set out to be the champion of the little man. Whether or not it expected its circulation to be among little men is not clear. Shortly before *PM* began, Richard Rovere wrote that it was assumed that readers would be drawn from the most intelligent of the three million tabloid readers. Whoever it was aiming at, *PM* didn't reach enough of them. *PM* needed to sell 225,000 copies daily but much of the time it had only a little better than half that many. In the beginning, some of its competitors tried to keep *PM* off the newsstands, but this stopped when it became apparent that *PM* was not a formidable competitor.

The \$1,500,000 that Ingersoll had figured would carry *PM* until it was on a paying basis was soon used up. About half a million of it went for promotion and for special equipment. There was a question of whether *PM* would be able to continue until,

in October, 1940, Marshall Field bought out the other owners.

PM continued to operate at a deficit. In 1941, its circulation dropped to 89,500, but climbed back to 150,000 in 1942. For the next three years, *PM* listed its circulation as 143,000. In the meantime, Ingersoll had gone into military service after an editorial fight against his draft board, whose members he thought were prejudiced against *PM*. The size of *PM*'s page was reduced, the number of pages cut from thirty-two to twenty-four, and some of the more expensive processes, such as color printing, dropped. The paper also changed its slogan from "*PM* Carries No Advertising" to "*PM* Tells You More News in Less Time."

In 1945, *PM* finished with a profit for the first and only time. It was attained with the help of a seventeen-day strike of deliverers for the other newspapers. *PM*, which had already signed with the union, sold almost 300,000 additional copies a day during the period. At the end of the year it had made \$40,000, which was split with the employees.

Ingersoll came back from the war and resumed editorship of the paper. On *PM*'s sixth birthday, with circulation just under 165,000, it was losing about \$5,000 a week.

PM started taking ads and Ingersoll resigned. He stated that although he was not against advertising, "there should be at least one mass newspaper in this country supported solely by its readers."

PM was sold in April, 1948, to Bartley C. Crum, a California lawyer, and Joseph Barnes, foreign editor of the *New York Herald Tribune*. The price was not disclosed, but Field had been reported willing to get out for \$300,000. It was estimated that he had spent more than \$5,000,000 on the paper in the nearly eight years of its existence. The name of the paper was changed to the *New York Star*, but its troubles remained the same as those of the old *PM*. The paper suspended publication early in 1949.

Robert Lasch wrote that although many newspapermen had become disillusioned with *PM*, its death left them with a feeling of loss because:

this was a newspaperman's newspaper, in the sense that though it was necessarily owned by big money it was wholly controlled by the editors. Seldom had American journalism come so close to the idea of an endowed newspaper. Seldom had anybody had such a chance to publish a newspaper without interference from an ownership primarily interested in profits.

Why did *PM* fail? The main reasons offered by the writers who have attempted to analyze the news-

paper in the years since its demise are listed below.

1. *PM* was not a complete newspaper on which the reader could rely for a full supply of news and entertainment.

2. It came into a highly competitive newspaper situation, at a relatively high price (five cents).

3. *PM* reached the newsstands later than its competitors, and with older news.

4. There were too many amateurs on the paper.

5. The Communists on the staff seriously disrupted the paper's efforts. The accusations made against *PM* on this issue were also seriously damaging.

6. *PM* did not deliver the kind of newspaper it had promised. It started out with a backlog of good ideas, but its performance was erratic.

Although it is likely that most of the reasons listed above contributed to *PM*'s passing, probably the main reason for its failure is contained in the first—that it was not a complete newspaper. It was thought of more as a specialty product, which added something others did not have, but which lacked many of the elements the readers had become accustomed to seeing in a newspaper. To get these features, it was necessary to buy another newspaper.

The criticism that *PM* was not complete strikes at the heart of what the paper tried to do. If this is the reason it did not succeed, one must go farther than the writers who have said *PM* failed because it didn't deliver on its promises. The editors of *PM* probably felt that they *were* delivering. They intended to eliminate much of what is called "news" in other papers. They tried to cut away what they considered excess and to leave the reader with what was important, with an explanation of why and how it was important. From the editors' point of view, *PM* was a complete newspaper.

Among the things *PM* lacked that audiences have come to expect in a newspaper were advertising—not simply a digest—and many of the elements classified by Wilbur Schramm as "immediate reward" items, such as entertainment features, comics, and certain kinds of news, among them human interest items. *PM*, however, tried to offer a heavy fare of "delayed reward" items; public affairs news and other items generally appealing to a well-educated—and therefore limited—audience. Conventional mass circulation papers contain both, but have a greater proportion of immediate reward items. By the time *PM* changed its formula to the extent of taking advertising and adding comics and other features it was too late.

The story of *PM* indicates that there was not a mass public—however much we may regret it—for the kind of newspaper envisioned by its founders.

Words, words, words

A DICTIONARY OF MODERN ENGLISH USAGE. Second edition. By H. W. Fowler, revised and edited by Sir Ernest Gowers. Oxford University Press, London. \$5.

THE TREASURE OF OUR TONGUE. By Lincoln Barnett. Alfred A. Knopf, New York. \$5.95.

A DICTIONARY OF USAGE AND STYLE. By Roy H. Copperud. Hawthorn Books, New York. \$6.95.

The three titles here noted, plus the forthcoming *Magnum Opus* of Theodore M. Bernstein, make this an interesting season for language watchers. To begin, Fowler:

It is nearly 40 years since *A Dictionary of Modern English Usage*, by H. W. Fowler, took its place on reference shelves in every shop where words were merchandised. It was built like a lexicon, but interlarded with short, bright essays that brought Fowler's scholarship, wit, and prejudices to bear on prescriptive grammar in this country. In 1957 Margaret Nicholson brought out her revision, *A Dictionary of American-English Usage*, which updated the 1926 material and added an American perspective. Now we have Sir Ernest Gowers' revised edition, 725 pages of analysis of our language and guidelines to its proper usage.

For those who want their grammar prescriptive (and many of us do), Gowers has restored a definitive reference work for another generation. There should be no mistaking the fact that Fowler is still the central figure. His style is here, most of his brief essays are intact, and his preference and tastes still dominate. Where the original showed a somewhat waspish attitude toward Americanisms and journalistic usage, the Gowers edition (via Nicholson) has tempered the sting. Similarly throughout — times have changed, and Gowers reflects the change. Obviously, "escalate" could not possibly have meant to Fowler what it means to Gowers.

Sir Ernest is not the scholar that Fowler was. He is an urbane gentleman of universal talents, and language is certainly one of his skills. But there are signs within this volume that he does not know as much as a modern Fowler should about what has been happening in the scientific analysis of language,

usage, meaning. His essays tend to sound like the writings of a Chesterfieldian amateur with instinctive good sense and good taste.

The new volume is easier to consult than its predecessor. Many of Fowler's finer points were concealed in paragraphs that bore headings never titled to lead you to them. The Gowers edition indexes these paragraphs and tells you what they are about. A good many of the single-line entries, which Fowler used to cover usages where doubt existed or changes were going on, have been removed as the usages have become established in available dictionaries. Gowers uses his short entries for the same purpose: to cover matters where something new exists. Fowler's essay (thirty pages) on "Technical Terms," the Graeco-Latin roots of English grammar, is gone. Yet not really gone, since many of its entries have been moved to their alphabetical places in the file.

Gowers has written previously on simplified expression, and his crusades against official jargon and pretentiousness are painfully well known. These themes are apparent throughout whenever Sir Ernest takes up the pen. In gist: write it clearly, correctly, simply, and don't use language to hide your ignorance, your arrogance, or your bad manners.

Gowers and Fowler are brothers under the skin. The two blend easily their rules, their advice, their prose styles, and their appreciation of the tongue.

And yet, from another point of view, these two books are poles apart. The reason for the distance between them is something that has happened to language study in the meantime. Fowler worked at a time when the strict grammarian was a dying breed. His permissiveness (forget the split infinitive, for example) and his ear for change and usage marked him as a liberal voice among language students. Despite his prescriptive rules, his sense of language history, and his scholarship, he was a modern in his day.

But other forces were at work, even as Fowler wrote. These forces were eventually to throw out all rules, values, judgments, and prescriptions, and to look at language on the sole evidence of its momentary usage. Their success in the field is indicated by the "new" methods of English-language instruction, and their chief prize is the third edition of the Merriam-Webster dictionary. Against this background, Gowers is rule-bound, prescriptive, and almost quaint. It is regrettable that one so sensitive and

BOOKS

generous about the excellence of our language must be cast in the conservative role in the current debates over linguistics.

For a spirited discussion of what those debates are and will continue to be, we recommend the final chapter of Lincoln Barnett's *The Treasure of Our Tongue*:

Rather unobtrusively, so far as the lay public is concerned, the teaching of English in schools and the training of English teachers have become increasingly actuated by the discipline known variously as Structural Linguistics, Descriptive Linguistics, or Modern Linguistic Science. Its precepts...sound innocuous...their total effect in practice has been the annihilation of traditional rules of grammar, the denial of any standards of "right" and "wrong" in speech or writing, and an anarchical philosophy of usage summed up by one of its exponents as: "Any word means whatever its users make it mean." ...Not since the early years of the eighteenth century has such concern been expressed over the decline of literacy and the deterioration of the English tongue.

Mr. Barnett's skill at digesting great quantities of scientific information and presenting it with authority, drama, and felicity is already established. In this volume he has turned his attention to the English language itself — its worldwide use, its history, its constructions (always in the direction of simplification, he says), its constant change, attraction and coining of new words, its splendor, and, finally, the attacks upon it. The book is written with passion and pride and enormous sweep.

Every good newsman is becoming increasingly aware of Roy Copperud and his influence on the profession. His regular column in *Editor & Publisher*, called "Editorial Workshop," an earlier book and the fact he may be appearing as consultant in almost anybody's newsroom at the drop of a hyphen make him a formidable figure. His *Dictionary of Usage and Style* is an encyclopedic gathering-together of good advice and sensible instruction. In dictionary format, the book is much like Gowers-Fowler. In its immediate application to journalistic practice, it is better than the classic. Both books share concern for clarity of communication, both are judgmental and both are receptive to new usages, informalities and the relaxing of rigid rules. Copperud is more relaxed

than Gowers, probably because of his American tongue and his newspaper background. Indeed, Copperud sounds so unruly at times that he might be one of those whom Barnett accuses of verbicide. But he's not. He's still the schoolmarm of our profession.

RICHARD T. BAKER

That image in the White House

PRESIDENTIAL LEADERSHIP OF PUBLIC OPINION. By Elmer E. Cornwell, Jr. Indiana University Press, Bloomington. \$6.95.

THE TALKATIVE PRESIDENT. Edited by Howard H. Quint & Robert H. Ferrell. University of Massachusetts Press, Amherst. \$6.00.

THE PRESIDENTS AND THE PRESS, TRUMAN TO JOHNSON. By James E. Pollard. Public Affairs Press, Washington. \$2.50.

KENNEDY AND THE PRESS. Edited by Harold W. Chase and Allen H. Lerman. Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York. \$10.00.

The obtrusive journalism that is a child of television incessantly focuses attention on itself. The beat-man at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue has become the panelist of Sunday evening with a band of viewers stretching from Grand Rapids to Austin awed enough to ask for autographs. The discomfiture of White House reporters has become an issue worthy of notice from commentators, and it even claims front-page space from time to time. The subject appeared to occupy enough of the President's waking thought as to be positively alarming in these hazardous times.

In short, the reporter himself and all the ritual of his fraternity — the news conference, the ranch ride, the backgrounder, the deepbackgrounder, the off-the-record South Lawn stroll — have become items of consumer interest.

We have here four volumes, and doubtless many more will follow, which examine in almost more detail than one cares to have everything from Teddy Roosevelt's "bully pulpit" and Cal Coolidge's faded observations about life in the Oval Office in the cool years, to the clipped precision of John Kennedy's television spectaculars and Lyndon Johnson's fascinating rambles along the Pedernales.

By far the most ambitious and noteworthy is Elmer E. Cornwell, Jr.'s *Presidential Leadership of Public*

Opinion. As the title suggests, this book has a little broader scope than just the President and the press—but not much. While speech-making and opinion polling and such enter the discussion, the bulk of the book's attention is given to a historical study of the development of White House press relations. The story is both instructive and interesting.

We find that Theodore Roosevelt was the President who first grasped the significance of the modern press. The author quotes the *New York Tribune's* Washington bureau chief of the era, Mark Sullivan: "Roosevelt has the knack of doing things, and doing them noisily, clamorously; while he is in the neighborhood the public can no more look the other way than the small boy can turn his head away from a circus parade followed by a steam calliope." TR didn't leave news to chance; he took the offensive and calculated carefully how to get the most front-page yield from his activities.

William Howard Taft largely ignored the press. It took Woodrow Wilson to get things on the track again. He added the general press conference and resurrected the live delivery of messages to Congress.

The old newspaperman Warren Harding and his successor, Calvin Coolidge, while maybe not much as Presidents, did not ignore public opinion. Harding revived the news conferences from the doldrums of Wilson's last tragic days and he gave new status to photographers. Coolidge kept up press conferences (though he kept them off the record) and pioneered in the use of radio. (Howard J. Quint and Robert H. Ferrell have edited these press conferences into a rather entertaining volume, *The Talkative President*, in which Coolidge remarks about everything from a new swarm of bees in the hollow tree on the "south lot" of the White House to Teapot Dome.)

Mr. Cornwell rates Franklin D. Roosevelt as a master propagandist—innovating, exploiting, sweeping the country along with him in a process that FDR himself described as "persuading, leading, sacrificing, teaching, always, because the greatest duty of a statesman is to educate."

Truman and Eisenhower added their own touches. Truman marched the growing corps of correspondents out of his office and over to the Indian Treaty Room in the Executive Office Building and Ike pioneered in television. Even in the absence of much

encouragement from the presidency, the postwar momentum of the news industry was such as to develop and lay open to any President a great array of devices for assaulting the public senses.

It took a member of the new generation, John F. Kennedy, to plunge headlong into electronic journalism with all its attendant staging, including the before-conference cram of news facts, literary and historical quotations, timely jokes.

The Kennedy news conferences have been put into a book that will be the historian's delight, *Kennedy and the Press*, with a foreword by his press secretary, Pierre Salinger. Each conference is preceded by a summary of events so that questions and answers can be studied in context.

A more detailed but narrower view of the Presidents from Truman through Johnson and the press is offered in James E. Pollard's short supplement to his *Presidents and the Press*, first published in 1947. This updating is as painstaking and creditable as the original volume, stumbling perhaps only in granting undue attention to two unfortunate articles, by Arthur Krock (*Fortune*, March, 1963) and Hanson Baldwin (*Atlantic Monthly*, April, 1963), which purported to delineate how Kennedy managed the news. It was a spurious issue and their accounts, extensively quoted by Pollard, did not make it less so.

All of these books suggest to the reader the importance of public opinion to a President. In telling this message with force of fact they serve a worthy purpose. Too often in recent months there has been criticism because the President has been concerned about his image. Of course he is concerned and he should be. Image-projecting in this world of instant and unmercifully total communication is everything from pulling a dog's ears to telling why we are bombing in North Viet-Nam. That a President should concern himself about convincing the nation and the world of his fiber is vital to our survival.

One of the failings of the Cornwell and Pollard volumes is that much of the sense of the moment has evaporated in the retelling. Not long ago President Johnson, in expressing sympathy for the wounds elected officials must suffer because of executive actions, declared: "Sam Rayburn used to say that Dean Acheson was sure a great Secretary of State but I wish he had run for sheriff just once."

It would be nice if those scholars who consider the questions of the press sometimes could dwell in the presidential world. They would find that the equation is not as neat as they have written it. There are forces that enter the picture that can never be controlled by either President or press. The scholars would find, I suspect, far more sincerity in the Oval

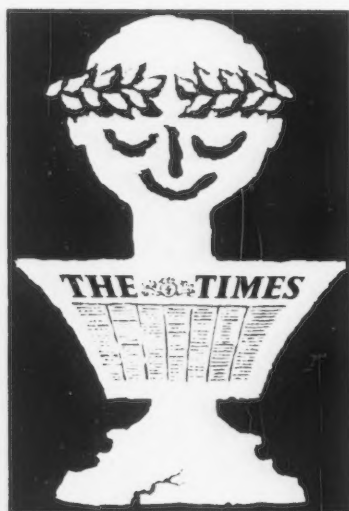
The reviewers: Richard T. Baker and Louis M. Starr are members of the Columbia Faculty of Journalism. Hugh Sidey, Time White House correspondent, is the author of John F. Kennedy, President.

BOOKS

Office than they at first thought. They would discover, too, that most reporters still refuse to accept much that comes from the White House at full face value. Who could suggest, for instance, that Kennedy's disastrous Bay of Pigs or that Johnson's distasteful ranch antics were covered up by press agency?

Beyond that, the larger premise offered in Mr. Cornwell's final sentence is one of those dubious generalities. "The strong President will be the skillful leader of public opinion," he says. No doubt he is correct to a degree. But history suggests that the strongest leaders were recognized as such because at the crucial moments they stood against myopic public opinion.

Woodrow Wilson lost his greatest fight—for the League of Nations. Yet history accords him no little honor for that heroic defeat suffered at the hands of a nation which wanted little part of his one-worldism. John F. Kennedy went to his death with a considerable segment of the United States business community skeptical of his suggestion we should cut taxes and run a budget deficit at the same time. But most authorities now feel this maneuver has provided a vital element in our continuing prosperity.



This advertisement is reproduced from *Graphic design: visual comparisons*, by Alan Fletcher, Colin Forbes, and Bob Gill. It is the first in a series of handsome paperbacks on the graphic arts issued in this country by Reinhold Publishing Corporation

Mr. Cornwell also fails to dispel a nagging feeling that a President who seems to be a skillful leader of public opinion is often more a skillful reader of the public mind. True, he may refine the national sentiment a bit, indeed, may make it coherent, but the presidential impact on the national course may at best be only a few degrees. That bubbling energy of Teddy Roosevelt's that burst all over the front pages would seem also to be a reflection of the vitality of a rambunctious young country. His cousin had only to dream up a new economic elixir to win approval from a nation in temporary despair, craving bold leadership. The answer may become clearer as time reveals whether President Johnson will shape a national consensus or the consensus will shape him.

HUGH SIDEY

Playback of 1964

SOMEHOW IT WORKS: A Candid Portrait of the 1964 Presidential Election. By Chet Huntley, David Brinkley, and the Staff of NBC News. Doubleday, New York. \$15.

The infatuation of the media with the idea of reconstituting news between book covers, noted in the last issue of the *Review*, is strikingly demonstrated in this replay of the 1964 presidential campaign by NBC News. Offhand, one might suppose that what is patently a piece of corporate promotion would hardly be worth \$15 to anyone, nor notice in this journal. On the contrary, *Somehow It Works* (the title comes from a witty and terse explanation of our quadrennial doings which David Brinkley gave for the benefit of European viewers) is a consummate piece of book journalism. It illuminates the campaign from the first primaries through election day, largely in the words of NBC newsmen and the principals at the time, and the whole is sewn together by some deft commentary. Pictures free of captions harmonize with the text. There is a thoughtful epilogue by Chet Huntley, plus tabulations of every Senate, House, and gubernatorial race and tabular analyses of the presidential vote by race, income, religion, and so on.

Those who would study that strangely remote and remarkable campaign will find all of this as useful, in its way, as Theodore H. White's more subjective and searching account.

LOUIS M. STARR

REPORT ON REPORTS

One more duel

"The Great Manhattan Newspaper Duel," by A. H. Raskin. *Saturday Review*, May, 8, 1965.

"The Negotiations," by Fred C. Shapiro. *The New Yorker*, April 10, 1965.

Two years ago, on April 1, 1963, *The New York Times* published an account by A. H. Raskin of the New York newspaper strike of 1962-1963 that was classic for its vividness, detail, and hardheadedness toward previously sacred cows. (It was reprinted in the spring, 1963, *Review*). The negotiations he described were chaotic and, it seemed, almost interminable. A year later, he wrote a shorter anniversary article for his paper that was mildly optimistic — "union and industry leaders detect the first signs that they have turned the corner toward a more constructive long-term relationship."

The article printed this spring in *Saturday Review* tells how this hope was disappointed. The account was intended to be a full-scale sequel for the *Times* of the 1964-1965 negotiations. The *Times*, it turned out, did not want more than a routine analysis this time. The article appeared, shortened by 1,500 words, in *Saturday Review*.

The only improvement Raskin sees in the 1965 negotiations is that they did not produce a strike. On the debit side, they damaged the tenuous arrangements set up to explore automation and other problems and disorganized further the shaky coalitions on each side of the bargaining table. Moreover, the price of the settlement raised anew fears of further newspaper closings (which seemed all the nearer in June when merger talks involving three papers were disclosed).

The narrative itself necessarily lacks the melodrama of its predecessor, since there was no strike and one of the two great antagonists of 1962-1963 — Amory Bradford of the publishers — no longer was around. His opponent, Bertram A. Powers of the typographical union, was still on hand, though, and

the 1965 negotiations seemed to be made up largely of devising ways to placate him.

Fred C. Shapiro, a reporter for the *New York Herald Tribune*, tells a similar story in even more detail. Unfortunately, his tale stops abruptly a few hours after the March 31 bargaining deadline. *The New Yorker* apparently had not counted on what happened — that negotiations would continue for days after the deadline passed. As far as it goes, the story is complete; to date, *The New Yorker* has not finished it. We are left on the steps of city hall in the early morning of April 1, 1965.

Ripe times

"The Golden Chains." *Forbes*, May 1, 1965

"Problems in the Hinterland," by Richard K. Doan. *New York* magazine, *New York Herald Tribune*, May 2, 1965.

Read together, these articles describe a business growing fat and, worse, indifferent. The *Forbes* article assesses the financial position of independent group broadcasters, who now number 106 chains owning 60 per cent of the country's commercial television stations. Their situation: "They don't have an expensive plant to run or a big payroll to meet. They don't have to worry about constantly turning out new products. Usually, they don't have to worry much about new competition either. Yet their profits may run as high as 39%, and their return on equity from 20% to 30%." Their only problem, it appears, is where to find new stations to buy.

What has made the groups so rich so fast? *Forbes* lists two reasons: the two-hundredfold growth in television advertising since 1949 (especially, in recent years, the growth of spot advertising), and the limit on the number of stations set by the Federal Communications Commission. But the rate of profit is not limited; the average independently owned station

REPORTS

now takes in \$1,500,000 a year, of which \$350,000 becomes profit before taxes.

Doan, the broadcasting-industry columnist of the *Herald Tribune*, reports what some of these stations are doing with their prosperity. He notes especially abuses of stations' right to reject news and public affairs from the networks.

¶ The failure of ABC affiliates in Atlanta (WAB-TV), in Milwaukee (WITI-TV), Memphis (WHBQ-TV), and Cleveland (WEWS, owned by Scripps-Howard) to carry the network's major evening news program.

¶ The decline in the number of stations carrying *CBS Reports*, put on a non-sponsored basis in 1965, from a peak of 140 to fewer than 100 this past season.

¶ The broadcast of ABC's half-hour documentary, *Scope*, by only 74 of 170 stations.

¶ As mentioned in the last issue of the *Review*, the dropping of the CBS evening news by Hearst's Milwaukee outlet, WISN-TV.

Doan concludes that "the FCC shouldn't have to remind broadcasters, as Chairman E. William Henry did the other day, that they should be 'willing to settle for a living rather than a killing.'"

"Sly, cruel poisonous"

"Tiny Mummies! The True Story of The Ruler of 43rd Street's Land of The Walking Dead!" and "Lost in the Whicky Thicket," by Tom Wolfe. *New York magazine* (*New York Herald Tribune*), April 11, 18, 1965.

Tom Wolfe, a chronicler of Manhattan mores, stock-car drivers, teen-age tycoons, and the whole shiny underbelly of American culture, chose in these articles to put forward the thesis that *The New Yorker* magazine, a forty-year-old weekly, had become mummified in middle age under the ministrations of its editor, William Shawn. The articles themselves tend to defy summary, since Wolfe's manic prose loses its fizz in condensation. It is enough to say they belittled Shawn, the presumed claims of *The New Yorker* to literary leadership, the magazine's gallery of light-prose writers, its reviewers, and its serpentine style.

If the articles were unusual, the response was astonishing. What other offering could conceivably have united Joseph Alsop of the *Herald Tribune* and

Nat Hentoff of *The Village Voice*? What else could have led the mild, silent Mr. Shawn to charge that a newspaper was "right down in the gutter with the Graphic, the Enquirer, and Confidential," and to demand that the *Tribune* stop distribution? What else could have enticed Alsop to classify an article in the *Tribune* with "the standard clichés of the American left," in the same basket with "teach-ins" that fail to criticize Ho Chi Minh? Or Murray Kempton of the *World Telegram & Sun* to write that "the *Herald Tribune* hates the *New Yorker* because it is gentle?" Or such urbane, reserved *New Yorker* writers as E. B. White (who called the articles "sly, cruel"), J. D. Salinger ("unrelievedly poisonous"), Muriel Spark ("false"), Richard H. Rovere ("irresponsible as anything I have ever come upon outside the gutter press"), Ved Mehta ("a blow against journalism") to lose their balance?

Clearly, the articles cut deep—deeper, probably, than *The New Yorker's* parodies of *Trib* writers. And they contained inaccuracies apparent even to the



Herald Tribune view of New Yorker

common reader. And certainly, as Alsop pointed out, the articles ignored the magazine's unmummified reporting. But should the *Tribune* have declined to run Wolfe at all? The answer lies in finding a delicate balance: How much of the response was outrage at the nature of the article and how much was outrage at the subjection of a sacred institution to ungentle handling? The fact is that *The New Yorker* remains a magazine that allows almost no dissent in its own pages and is unaccustomed to harsh words, from within or without. Possibly Wolfe's were the wrong words, but even so the *Tribune's* right to run them cannot be challenged.

LETTERS

Are Nazis news?

TO THE REVIEW:

Ben Bagdikian's "The Gentle Suppression" [spring, 1965] assumes the very point it tries to make: what the American Nazis do and say constitutes "news." This just isn't so.

People may differ as to what is news, but certainly two of the essential ingredients are missing when newspapers report the activities of this handful of paranoids.

One of the ingredients of a news story is *who* did it or said it. The mere fact that a person has a title or office or has a position of power or status can make what he says or does news. The fact that such a person says or does something is news, even though if it were said or done by someone else it would not be news.

I recognize that a person can make news without having any particular status or title. The *act, itself*, no matter who does it, can become news. In the ordinary crime, both the attacker and the victim are generally insignificant persons and yet the act itself can make news. A great discovery by an unknown person or a great thought by an unrecognized writer, poet or teacher can be — and often is — news. But the American Nazis have not engaged in violence and, goodness knows, have not made any great discoveries or uttered any great thoughts.

Sometimes the two elements — who and what — are combined and then, of course, good hard news occurs. Bagdikian is correct when he says that if a "mayor douses his hair with lighter fluid and makes a flying leap from a persimmon tree singing 'Dixie,' it may be a stunt but it is news." The title of the person and what he did make the event newsworthy. On the other hand, if an American Nazi did the same thing, I suggest that it is not news. The event

would fail to qualify because the actor lacks status or position and jumping out of a tree while singing a song is not a physical act which is newsworthy.

At least, the Ku Klux Klan can claim a large membership and some persons of local prominence. Thus, its stunts can sometimes be considered to be newsworthy. However, the American Nazis here in Washington consist of no more than a couple of dozen young psychopaths. Their zeal and warped minds thrive on the sight of their names in the press. If what they do constitutes news, then every anti-social act of a mentally unbalanced person should also be faithfully reported.

All mass media have a responsibility to report news. But they also have a responsibility not to whet the appetites of those who behave anti-socially simply to titillate their own egos. Reports of their antics rekindle their zeal.

MARCUS COHN
Washington

TO THE REVIEW:

Ben Bagdikian's article, "The Gentle Suppression," is characteristically thoughtful and conscientious. But his account of Rockwell and the Washington newspapers leaves this admirer perplexed. The newspaper morgues surely tell a different story; our incomplete files, for example, show hundreds of Rockwell clippings, including feature stories.

This is an extraordinary amount of coverage for a minuscule organization whose membership in the Washington area is estimated at less than fifteen, and in the country as a whole, less than 100. (If Rockwell is a "resourceful leader," he is of a special breed that doesn't need any followers.) A judgment based on current numbers is perhaps not conclusive. But

Nazi membership totals have long been stagnant, although there is much turnover. The members touch no lever of community power or come even close to it. They have not had the slightest effect on any social movement or force in the District. Their significance is wholly bounded by the laws of nuisance. What other fourteen-member organization in Washington has commanded so much newspaper attention?

I have been persuaded — reluctantly — that sensation is news, regardless of importance. Indeed, the Nazis have gotten a great deal of publicity mileage out of sensation — in uniforms, placards and programs. They have made a practice of claiming newspaper attention by a form of shocking parasitism. They cannot run a meeting of their own, but they can picket other meetings. Time and again they have carried Jew-baiting signs outside meetings, having first taken the precaution of asking for police protection. Who in Washington has not seen news pictures of their uniforms and placards reading "Gas the Jew traitors"? It is no secret to newspaper readers that the Nazis dislike the Jews. Do the papers have to ring every change on this unvarying theme?

The White House sidewalk has become America's Hyde Park. Do the newspapers have to report every speech made in Hyde Park or every placard carried in front of the White House?

Mr. Bagdikian cites Southern editors who not so many years ago suppressed items that made Negroes look good. This, unfortunately, is a vice for which Mr. Bagdikian's proposal offers no remedy. Is "news" easier to define and harder to evade than truth or decency? An editor who can ignore the claims of decency can as easily ignore the claims of news.

If the Washington papers have erred it is on the side of overplaying the Rockwell "news" — and underplaying editorially, as

LETTERS

Bagdikian suggests, the bumbling handling of Rockwell by the authorities.

HERMAN EDELSBERG
Director, Washington office
Anti-Defamation League

THE AUTHOR REPLIES:

To Herman Edelsberg's letter, I must agree that sensation, no matter how cynically or maliciously created, is news. I cited the Southern editors who keep out news that makes Negroes look good because I do have a remedy, which is the thesis of my article: professional standards of reporting public events, regardless of the editor's personal opinion of the virtue of these events, is a safer standard of journalism than arbitrary decisions by editors on what is safe for readers to know.

To Marcus Cohn I say, yes, when paranoids affect public events, they are news. When they disrupt sessions of Congress or large public gatherings, they are news whether they represent a million members or ten. Hitler, after all, was only the seventh member of the German Workers Party, precursor of the Nazis. At this writing George Lincoln Rockwell intends to run for public office in the state of Virginia. Quite aside from the discipline of reporting news, is it for the public good or not that voters be acquainted with Rockwell's ideas and activities before he puts on his candidate's face?

Washington riot

TO THE REVIEW:

In the spring issue of the *Review*, Ben H. Bagdikian stands facts on their heads in writing: "In Washington, D. C., a spectacular

riot in the municipal stadium was at first unreported, then distorted to make it appear non-racial."

The hurly-burly took place on Thanksgiving afternoon, November 22, 1962. The report of it was the off-lead story, two columns in length, in the next morning's *Washington Post*. The subject was the basis of front page stories for the next two days, and many additional stories in the weeks that followed. My impression is that coverage in Washington's two other daily papers followed the same pattern.

Our first story reported that the Deputy Police Chief in charge of the stadium detail felt the affair was not a racial one, but that other officials thought it was. That story, and those immediately following, reported the continuing arguments of public officials on whether the event did or did not have racial overtones. On our part, our second-day story noted that "most of the fighting was attacks of Negroes upon whites."

All this, I suggest, is neither non-reporting nor distorting to make the affair appear non-racial.

ALFRED FRIENDLY
Managing editor
The Washington Post

THE AUTHOR REPLIES:

Al Friendly is correct when he says that there was first-day confusion in official reports on the racial nature of the riot, and when he says that the *Post* ran prominent stories on the disturbance. But the most important point about the riot was that it quickly took a racial turn, and this was known to reporters covering the story well before it appeared in the papers with the emphasis warranted in a community like Washington.

From the corps

TO THE REVIEW:

Jules Witcover's article on the Pentagon press corps, "The Surliest crew in Washington," [spring, 1965] was seriously marred by reference to the two deans of the corps, Mark Watson, 77, *Baltimore Sun*, and Elton Fay, 64, AP,

as "extremely mild-mannered — a distinct contrast to their aggressive juniors."

Nonsense.

Watson is the man who pounded the arm of his chair when Secretary of Defense McNamara was first explaining his news-management plans and shouted in shrill indignation, "Mr. Secretary, this means war!" It did, too. Both McNamara and Art Sylvester will agree, we are sure, that the only thing meaner than a dirty look from the one good Watson eye is the cruel expression of the glass one.

And Fay is the man who almost hit Sylvester in the Pentagon press room during a discussion of the famous no-missile-gap backgrounder. He is the same man who recently pulled the electric plug from the air drill being used in the renovation of the Pentagon press area, thereby halting the renovations.

By referring to these elderly curmudgeons as "extremely mild-mannered" you have maligned by implication their kind, loveable, and co-operative junior colleagues.

CHARLES CORDDRY
United Press International

RICHARD FRYKLUND
Washington Star

DAN HENKIN
Journal of the Armed Forces

LYOYD NORMAN
Newsweek

JACK RAYMOND
The New York Times

DON ZYLSTRA
Missiles & Rockets

THE AUTHOR REPLIES:

The letter above obviously is a fraud. Nothing, not even concern that their seniors might lose their status as Irascibles in Good Standing in the Pentagon press room, could drive the singular six above into joint action. My guess is the letter is a thinly veiled forgery by

Watson and Fay to save face after having been accused in cold print of extreme mild-mannerism. Or could it be McNamara and Sylvester, up to their old tricks of sowing dissension in the ranks? This clearly is a matter for investigation by the American Society of Newspaper Editors.

Cold war comics

TO THE REVIEW:

Daniel J. Leab's article on "Cold War Comics" (winter, 1965) was a disappointment in comparison with the thoroughness of most *Review* articles, and in comparison with what has already been written on the subject — articles in the *Nation* and, two years ago, even in *Dude* magazine.

The selection of strips was good but Mr. Leab failed to go into great detail as to how the "enemy" is shown in these strips, how "Americanism" is portrayed, and the artist's connection with the military. Of course, one could do a thesis on Little Orphan Annie alone, whose economic message closely borders on fascism and whose military message makes Senator Thurmond and former Senator Goldwater appear to be peacemakers.

But the connection with the military should not have been brushed over, especially since the *Review* is so concerned with Washington's use of the press. The armed services have often given comic strip artists expense-paid trips and the artists are quick to put into their strips obvious pleas for whatever their branch of service wants from Congress and the President. Because of this, I feel, *The New York Times* should run weekly summaries of such strips as Steve Canyon and Smilin' Jack.

Though Canyon did defend the right of peace marchers to protest, Mr. Leab forgets Canyon's hitch: American *citizens* only had the right to protest so the marchers had to produce their birth certificates to show that they were in fact citizens. Many a rightist must have smiled in satisfaction.

JERRY DEMUTH
Atlanta

TO THE REVIEW:

I challenge Daniel Leab's statement that cold war comics are directed at the least sophisticated part of the newspaper audience. His article shows an abysmal lack of scholarship on the history of comics.

Cold war comics indeed. Nine

of the twelve comics he lists were started before 1947. Winnie Winkle began in 1920, Little Orphan Annie in 1924, Joe Palooka in 1927, Captain Easy in 1932, Smilin' Jack in 1933, Terry and the Pirates in 1934, Buz Sawyer in 1943, Johnny Hazard in 1946 and Steven Canyon in 1947. Only Dan Flagg, Big Ben Bolt and On Stage are developments of the cold war period.

Terry Lee was fighting the "invaders" in China long before we called them Japanese. Joe Palooka was fighting the Germans in World War II. Buz Sawyer was a carrier pilot in the Pacific. For as long as there have been adventure strips, artists have been commenting on the international scene.

It is hard to take Mr. Leab's comments seriously. Steve Canyon a misrepresentation of actuality? Happy Easter do harm? Dean Wilderness a question of journalistic responsibility? Oh, come now, Mr. Leab.

Who says that the comics are meant to be factual? I suppose Mr. Leab would have no Dragon Lady or Roscoe Sweeney or Daddy Warbucks. Maybe he'd like to do away with that poor naive Little Red Riding Hood, too. Who could ever think that a wolf looked like Grandma anyway?

GEORGE J. LOCKWOOD
Editor, *Picture Journal*
The Milwaukee Journal

The Digest on urban renewal

The winter, 1965, issue of the *Review* contained a "Report on the Reader's Digest," which criticized Digest articles dealing with governmental affairs. Here the article's author, Reo M. Christenson, a professor of government at Miami University in Ohio, offers his appraisal of Digest coverage of federal urban renewal programs.

Over the past several years the *Reader's Digest* has carried a succession of articles attacking the federal urban renewal program. In accordance with its customary practice, where DeWitt Wallace's ideological dictates are involved, the other side has not been heard from in the *Digest's* pages. Also in accordance with a too-common *Digest* practice, its articles are either badly lopsided or, worse, bristling with factual errors. A case in point is "The Sad Little Story of Wink," which appeared in its October, 1964, issue.

A *Digest* roving editor, Robert S. Strother, contended that the

Wink, Texas, urban renewal project received "\$891,868 as a grant and \$1,034,758 as temporary loan authority. That amounted to \$1034 per capita . . ." (Wink had a population of 1,863 in 1960). Actually, the Urban Renewal Administration advanced a total of \$1,034,758 or \$555 per capita.

"Downtown Wink is almost deserted. There is no building in progress and no sign of the new stores which urban renewal officials had predicted." But thirteen new business buildings were built after the urban renewal grant was made in 1961 and about ninety private dwellings were also con-

UNFINISHED BUSINESS

structed after that date. Mr. Strother was given a guided tour of Wink, and was shown these buildings, but he chose to disregard them. Raymond P. Parr, former executive director of the Wink project, told me that he was prepared to swear that Mr. Strother told him he knew William Slayton, commissioner of the URA, "hated his guts," and was out to "get" him.

The former owner of the *Wink Bulletin* was quoted as saying that "I'm afraid we're going to end up with a well-laid-out city and no people" when his full statement was: "I can't foretell what urban renewal will do for Wink. We may have another boom some day or we may have a well-laid-out city with no people. Who can predict the future in the oil industry?" (In this case, the *Digest* was repeating a quotation from the *Houston Chronicle*.)

After certain public improvements had been made, the *Digest* continued, "... the commission sat back to await bids from business concerns eager to set up new enterprises. None appeared." Mr. Parr observes that because essential preliminary work (such as replanting) had not been completed, no property had even been offered for sale when the *Digest* piece was written. Other officials confirm this fact.

"Just eight of the 77 families evicted from the project area were relocated in low-income housing built with a \$225,000 government loan." Even if the *Digest* had correctly noted that fifteen families (not eight) had been so relocated, the statement would have been misleading. The remaining families had found acceptable shelter elsewhere, of course.

"... property valuations in Wink now are \$2,607,650, down \$500,000 from 1962." With property assessed at 25 per cent of its value, the city's tax valuation rose from \$898,454 in 1961 to \$942,085 in 1964.

A Wink property owner was quoted in the *Digest* as saying

"The choice of property to be bought and the scale of payment for it seemed almost pure whim." Actually, properties were appraised by two reputable appraisal firms, one from Kansas City and one local.

"Charges of favoritism are heard everywhere and the suspicion that 'some people must have cleaned up on this' seems universal." No proof, just suspicion. The innuendo was particularly unfortunate inasmuch as the urban renewal program has had a remarkably scandal-free record to date.

The Wink project may or may not have been wisely approved, but the *Digest's* research techniques certainly will not help the public form an accurate judgment.

It might be added that while Mr. Strother and a *Digest* researcher came to Wink advertising



themselves as *Digest* representatives, the *Digest* article purported to be a condensation of an article appearing in *The Freeman* for October, 1964. The *Digest* claims to be proud of its practice of "helping" small magazines in this manner, but the general reading public obviously could be misled by the practice.

In April, 1965, the *Digest* summarized many of the conclusions of Martin Anderson's *The Federal Bulldozer* in an article titled "Myths of Urban Renewal." Unfortunately, this book relies on data extending only through March, 1961. While many of Mr. Anderson's criticisms may have

been well founded when he completed his research, he (and the *Digest*) chose to ignore important new shifts in the program that took place during the Kennedy and Johnson administrations. Contrary to the impression left in the *Digest* article, the Urban Renewal Administration for years has minimized "bulldozing" and emphasized rehabilitation, has placed heavy emphasis on adequate relocation procedures (about 87 per cent of persons displaced under urban renewal are relocated in standard housing and the others either move away or take substandard housing by choice), has successfully used a new federal program to accelerate the construction of middle or lower middle income dwellings (Section 221 (d) (3) of the Federal Housing Act), and many cities are justifiably proud of their urban renewal projects (e.g., Philadelphia, Chicago, Washington, Detroit, Pittsburgh, Hartford, New Haven, Little Rock, Waco, Baltimore, Boston). Although Mr. Anderson says that a dollar of public investment in urban renewal has generated "probably not more than 50 cents" of private investment, Commissioner William L. Slayton declares that there is about \$6 of private investment for every federal dollar. He insists that "... this bears up every time we check it out."

Whatever the accuracy of Mr. Anderson's indictment of urban renewal as the program stood four or five years ago, no fair-minded student of the program would deny that many of his charges are currently either obsolete or of diminished validity. But the *Digest* chooses to look backward rather than offer a more up-to-date treatment of urban renewal.

The *Digest's* public relations book, *Of Lasting Interest*, notes that the *Digest* prefers to set forth its opinions in an unqualified manner and "in black and white clarity." Black and white makes for dramatic reading, but there's something to be said for reporting all sides of the truth, too.

Confessions of a magazine reader

by DAVID OGILVY
Author of "Confessions of an Advertising Man"

I READ 34 magazines every month. I like them all, but the one I admire most is Reader's Digest.

The editors of The Digest are in possession of a remarkable technique: they know how to present complicated subjects in a way that engages the reader.

This gives the editors of The Digest great influence in the world. They put their influence to admirable use.

They are on the side of the angels. They are crusaders, and they carry their crusades, in 14 languages, to 75 million souls each and every month.

They crusade against cigarettes, which kill people. They crusade against billboards, which make the world hideous. They crusade against boxing, which turns men into vegetables. They crusade against pornography.

They crusade for integration, for the inter-faith movement, for the Public Defender system, for human freedom in all its forms.

Good Pope John once told The Digest editors, "How comforting it will be for you, when you come to the close of your lives on earth, to be able to say to yourselves: We have served the truth."

No log-rolling, no back-scratching

Ten years ago Reader's Digest first opened its columns to advertising. This worried me. I was afraid that The Digest editors would start pulling their punches in deference to advertisers and even give editorial support to advertisers—an obvious temptation to magazine editors. But this has not happened; The Digest has remained incorruptible. No log-rolling, no back-scratching.

The success of The Digest is deserved. It does not depend on prurience, voyeurism or cheap sensationalism. What The Digest editors offer their readers are ideas, education (practical and spiritual) and self-improvement.

The instinct of these editors is



toward clarity of expression. The current issue, as I write, includes articles on religion in schools, on the Congo, urban renewal, violence on television, Abraham Lincoln and safe driving. Each of these subjects is presented in a way which I can understand. If I did not read about them in The Digest, I wouldn't read about them anywhere. I wouldn't have the time.

Some highbrows may look down their noses at The Digest, charging it with superficiality and over-simplification. There is a modicum of justice in this charge; you can learn more about the Congo if you read about it in *Foreign Affairs Quarterly*, and you can learn more about Abraham Lincoln if you read Carl Sandburg's books about him. But have you time?

Never boring

I seldom read a highbrow magazine without wishing that a Digest editor had worked his will upon it. I would then find it more readable. The Digest articles are never long-winded, never obscure, never boring.

I also admire the editors' courage. They have the guts to open their

readers' minds on delicate subjects. They grasp nettles. Like venereal disease, cancer, mental illness. They are not humorless prigs. Their sense of humor is uproarious. They make me laugh.

Editorial technique

Their techniques fascinate me. First, the way they present the contents on the cover—a tantalizing menu which invites you to the feast inside. (I have never understood why all magazines don't do this.)

Second, the ingenious way they write the titles on their articles. They pique your curiosity—and they promise to satisfy it. For example:

What Truckers Say About Your Driving

Professional drivers sound off on the most common—and dangerous—faults of the amateur

How could anybody resist reading an article with a title like that?

I learn my living as a copywriter in an advertising agency. It is a matter of life and death for me to get people to read my advertisements. I have discovered that more than half the battle is to write headlines which grab people's attention and force them to read the copy. I learned how to do this by studying headlines in *The Digest*.

The Digest editors do not start their articles in the front of the magazine and carry them over in the back. They carry you through their magazine without this maddening interruption, and I bless them for it.

The battle for men's minds

You and I, gentle reader, live in the United States, and we think of The Reader's Digest as an American magazine. So it is—15 million Americans buy it every month. But it is also published in 20 other countries—10,500,000 copies a month. It is the most popular magazine in several countries abroad, including all of the Spanish-speaking countries.

The International editions of

Free ad

Charles Pintchman, assistant director of public affairs for The Reader's Digest, has suggested that the Review might present, "in part or in entirety," a statement by David Ogilvy, an advertising agency head, that was run as a Digest advertisement in general and trade publications. Mr. Pintchman writes that Mr. Ogilvy's comments seem to him to "touch upon several of the questions raised in the Review's 'Report on the Reader's Digest.'" Although the Review does not accept advertising, the editors present here the Digest advertisement in its entirety (as it appeared in *Printer's Ink* magazine for May 28, 1965). Readers may judge for themselves whether the statement bears upon the criticisms of the Digest raised in the winter issue and on the preceding pages by Reo M. Christenson.

The Digest carry more or less the same articles as the U.S. editions. The editors have discovered that subjects which are important to people in Iowa, California and New York are equally important to people in France, Tokyo and Rio.

Thus it comes about that Digest editors have a profound influence on people who are free to read what they want. *This magazine exports the best in American life.*

In my opinion, The Digest is doing as much as the United States Information Agency to win the battle for men's minds.

Credit where credit is due. I know nobody who deserves the gratitude of their fellow Americans more than DeWitt and Lila Acheson Wallace. The Digest is the lengthened shadow of these two great editors. Theirs are the names at the top of the masthead. It is the most formidable of all mastheads: no less than 208 men and women. Among them you will find some of the most distinguished journalists in the world. No other magazine is so richly endowed with professional competence.

Some magazines are dominated by the men who sell advertising space. In my experience, there has never been a good magazine which was not, like The Digest, dominated by its editors.

Long live The Reader's Digest!

David Ogilvy

"Reader's Digest asked me if I would comment on why I think so many people all over the world read it," Mr. Ogilvy says. "I agreed to try, because I regard The Digest as a major force for good in the world, and I wanted to say so. In return for my work The Digest will make a donation to Fettes, the Scottish school which gave me my education on a full scholarship."

A Chicago advertising man, Draper Daniels, has spoken out in behalf of magazine readers who must weave their way over, under, around, and through advertisements to reach the end of a story. He took special exception to "those dandy little junior spreads and odd-shaped ads splashed right in the middle of the reading matter." Here are some recent examples including two that show another common hazard — failure to distinguish ads from editorial matter.

HOLIDAY SCHOOL & CAMP DIRECTORY
Days Schools Home Study School

HOLIDAY SCHOOL & CAMP DIRECTORY

Happy Holiday Season!

CAFETERIA AND LUNNETTES

CAFETERIA
 1000 N. 1st St.
 Phone 2-1111

LUNNETTES
 1000 N. 1st St.
 Phone 2-1111

KENTUCKY MILITARY INSTITUTE

1000 N. 1st St.
 Phone 2-1111

FORE UNION

1000 N. 1st St.
 Phone 2-1111

STAY NITE

1000 N. 1st St.
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FOOTBALL

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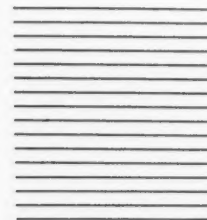
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A hitch in Time

Time magazine printed this revelation in its "People" section, June 11, 1965:

Actor Peter Lawford, 39, and his wife Patricia Kennedy Lawford, 41, have been separated by geography for a number of months. Pat has been living on Manhattan's upper Fifth Avenue, also known as Kennedy Row, tending their three children, while her husband pursues his film career in Hollywood. Now, according to a close family source, Roman Catholics Peter and Pat have decided, after eleven years of marriage, to make the separation permanent and legal.

Mr. Lawford's press agent pointed out that (1) he is 41 and she 39, not the other way around; (2) she is a Roman Catholic, he is not; (3) the couple have four children, not three. And the legal separation? Who knows?

The eager hands of Allstate

It's an ill tornado that blows nobody good. Television Age reports that two days after the Palm Sunday twisters this spring, a Leo Burnett agency crew was out interviewing policyholders for Allstate Insurance, and that the footage was used on television the following Sunday. Below, the crew in action:



The weary duke

Within three days of each other, Joseph Alsop and S. L. A. Marshall, syndicated columnists for The Washington Post Company and the Los Angeles Times-Washington Post News Service were smitten by the same inspiration, as seen in copy for February 24 and February 27:

BY JOSEPH ALSOP

COPYRIGHT (C) 1965, THE WASHINGTON POST CO.

WASHINGTON--AN ILL-PLANNED EPISODE OF THE NAPOLEONIC WARS

PRODUCED THE BRITISH FOLK RHYME:

"THE GOOD OLD DUKE OF YORK!
HE HAD TEN THOUSAND MEN;
HE MARCHED THEM UP THE HILL,
AND MARCHED THEM DOWN AGAIN."

BY BRIG. GEN. S.L.A. MARSHALL

MILITARY AFFAIRS ANALYST

IN THAT LONG AGO WHEN WE WERE WHIPPERSNAPPERS, WE USED TO SING
ABOUT THE GALLANT DUKE OF YORK WHO HAD 10,000 MEN, AND MARCHED THEM
UP A HILL, SO THAT HE COULD MARCH THEM DOWN AGAIN.

A CONCISE BARTLETT'S FOR JOURNALISTS

If rogues and rascals have stolen the taxpayers blind . . . one reason is that they have often been able to practice their skulduggery secure in the knowledge that the press would be unlikely to bring it to light. — *Editorial in The Berkshire Eagle, Pittsfield, Massachusetts, commenting on crime in the state.*

I wondered for a moment whether I should send a note of correction; but, having long since despaired of the daily newspaper as a medium of historical exactitude, I did not do so. — *Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., complaining of misreporting in letter to The New York Times, June 21, 1965.*

If you can't quote them, the hell with them. — *Arville Schaleben, executive editor, The Milwaukee Journal, commenting on anonymous sources, Time, June 11, 1965.*

The most important forms of corruption in the modern journalist's world are the many guises and disguises of social-climbing on the pyramids of power. — *Walter Lippmann, in talk before the International Press Institute in London, May 27, 1965.*

[The centerfold photo] is a prisoner of the imitative formats of the 1950's, of the dear, dead, dull girlie cliché that decrees that every nude must come equipped with a staple in

her navel. — *Frederic Birmingham, editor, Cavalier magazine, in promotional folder distributed in May, 1965.*

I want the Whole Truth. They want to be Beautiful. . . . I pretend that I think they are beautiful. They pretend that they are telling me the truth. — *Thomas B. Morgan, magazine writer, explaining profile-writing process in his collection. Self Creations: 13 Impersonalities.*

Freedom to publish means freedom to publish all those pictures in Santo Domingo of our Marines leading old ladies across the street, rescuing little children from burning buildings, playing volleyball with the natives in Vietnam — and freedom not to publish pictures of their dropping napalm bombs. That's a very important part of freedom of the press, the freedom not to publish the wrong thing that might cause trouble. — *John Crosby, in his final column for the New York Herald Tribune, June 2, 1965.*

Wouldn't it be puzzling to future historians to conclude that the great American dailies hastened their destruction through their own inability to hire workers who understand how to read and interpret a simple speech? — *Cervi's Journal, June 16, 1965, criticizing coverage of speech by William McChesney Martin, Federal Reserve Board chairman, that caused a stock-market break.*

